

ROME VS. NUNS

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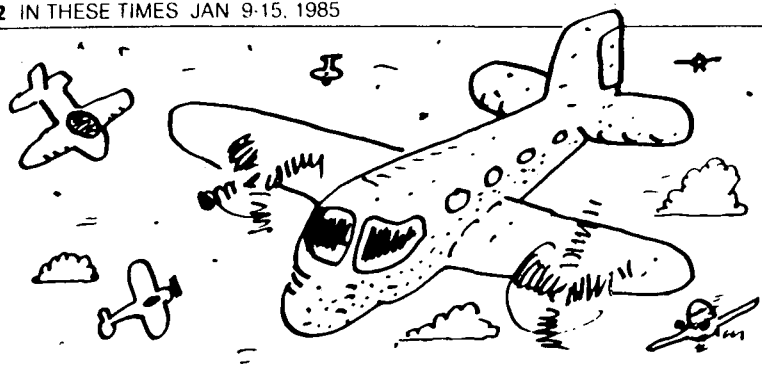
JAN. 9-15, 1985

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CLOAK AND PAINTBRUSH

Abstract Expressionism and the CIA

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Air controllers unite

By Joan Walsh

CHICAGO

Dan Bunce is not a typical post-strike air traffic controller, but then there may be no "average" controller among the 7,000-plus who replaced the 11,400 striking PATCO members Ronald Reagan fired in 1981. But Bunce's disillusionment with life under the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) seems typical of the labor problems that have plagued the FAA for decades—problems that led to the ill-starred PATCO strike, and barely three years later have ignited a union drive that could put the controllers back in the ranks of organized labor.

Unlike many post-strike controllers, Bunce gave up a lucrative electrical engineering career to work in the FAA's Chicago center in March 1982. He took a pay cut to go through training on the promise of achieving a GS14, full-performance controller status—and the \$40,000-a-year salary—within two years and two days. But less than a year into his training the FAA instituted its controversial "structured staffing" policies, to slow the rate of controllers achieving full status (and top salaries) by promoting ascending trainees only upon the retirement of veteran controllers. The vagaries of the FAA's makeshift post-strike training process meant that some new controllers hired with Bunce had finished training and made it to full status; Bunce was stuck at GS11, denied the training and salary he'd been promised upon his hiring. He filed a grievance with the FAA, demanding the classes he needed to be a fully credentialed journeyman controller.

But although Bunce won the backing of his grievance examiner, he learned the chief flaw of the FAA's post-PATCO grievance system: management isn't bound to honor its outcome. In the windup, as regional management stalled on implementing the grievance examiner's judgment, the FAA abolished its unpopular structured staffing program. Bunce got his training and made it to GS14, but he also got involved in the controllers' drive to affiliate with the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE). "I was always a non-union sort of person, like most electrical engineers," Bunce says. "But this was a big education—you need a union in an autocratic organization like the FAA."

Many will see irony in controllers who helped break the PATCO strike petitioning for a union. But there's more powerful symbolism to be taken from the current drive: as PATCO's destruction seemed to epitomize the Reagan administration's inexorable anti-unionism—and the labor movement's powerlessness by contrast—today's controllers' drive is a much-needed up-from-the-ashes statement of what unions do and why they're important.

Since an initial meeting between controllers at the busy Leedsburg, Va., center and AFGE representatives in November 1983, a union election petition has garnered support from the requisite 30 percent of the controllers at 15 of the nation's 20 largest control centers. But with 430 air-traffic facilities nationwide, AFGE has a lot of territory to cover. Of the FAA's nine regions, AFGE has 30 percent support in only one so far, New England, where it filed for an election last fall. The Federal Labor Relations Authority will decide early this year whether the controllers can organize region by region, instead of nationally, as the FAA argues. But organizers are now saying that with strong support in the Eastern, Southern, Western Pacific and Great Lakes regions, AFGE could get 30 percent support nationally if it needs to.

"Perhaps a bit worse."

Why are AFGE officials so confident? Chiefly because the working conditions that led to the increased militance of PATCO, and ultimately to the devastating strike, have not improved. By reliable estimates they've gotten worse. Just after the strike, a committee headed by management consultant Lawrence Jones examined the conditions that led to the confrontation and concluded that management's scheduling and staffing policies and autocratic style were at least in part to blame for PATCO's intransigence. This year the committee returned to the scene and concluded in a report released last month that "conditions are as bad as in 1981, or perhaps a bit worse."

With 13,600 controllers handling even more traffic than the 16,400 employed before the strike, the FAA is "exceeding the capacity of the human-technical system," the committee found. The burnout rate for controllers has nearly doubled, according to the Jones report, and morale has plummeted. And the mechanisms the FAA set up for improving labor-management relations in the wake of the committee's 1982 report—Human Relations Committees and Facility Advisory Boards—are widely viewed as "inconsequential windowdressing."

Controllers active in the organizing drive say two of the worst consequences of the smaller workforce are excessive overtime requirements and a 50 percent increase in the number of hours per shift that each controller works the high-stress radar control boards. In New York's center, 50 percent fewer controllers are handling 20 percent more traffic than before the strike. At the Chicago center controllers logged more than 60,000 hours in overtime last year, and many were unable to get the three weeks leave the FAA promised them because of understaffing. The Los Angeles center

logged 40,000 overtime hours.

The union drive must also be placed against the backdrop of proposed cuts in federal employees' wages and benefits.

But perhaps the biggest spur to the union drive is many controllers' feeling of betrayal by the FAA. Howie Barte, a controller at a Quonset, R.I., tracking center and the elected spokesman of New England's AFGE-affiliated American Air Traffic Controllers Council, was a PATCO representative who became alienated from the union's increasingly militant leadership. He opposed the 1981 strike as poorly timed and unwinnable. Crossing a picket line that daily became more abusive, non-striking controllers and supervisors "became like a family," Barte recalls. "The FAA would tell us what a great job we were doing, that the problems that led up to the strike would be addressed. But the FAA failed to keep its promises to the controllers who stayed on the job."

Post-strike controllers have resentments of their own. The "structured staffing" policies that tripped up Dan Bunce have been abolished, partly because union activists were successfully capitalizing on disaffection among stalled younger controllers. Now newer hires are finding other obstacles in their path to journeyman—"resectorization," the remapping of control areas, is forcing controllers to relearn their regions' sectors and keeping some from full-performance status.

Still, it's not clear skies to unionization. Despite the FAA's abysmal management record, the controllers are a diverse group with sometimes divergent interests. The drive is being spearheaded by pre-strike controllers, many of them PATCO dissidents who became disaffected during the Byzantine leadership transition of early 1980, when the cautious, well-respected John Leyden—now AFL-CIO public employees division director—was elbowed out by the more militant Robert Poli, who led the union into the strike. Despite PATCO's failure, the veterans know what a union can accomplish. That's not true of the post-strike controllers.

"The older controllers know that PATCO at least won contracts, got them represented at safety hearings, fought for a retirement plan," says AFGE organizer Kelly Candaele. "The younger people are harder—some of them are coming from department store jobs into a \$40,000-a-year position."

There are regional disparities as well. While controllers in major centers are forced to work long overtime hours, those in out of the way towers and smaller airports often have a more manageable workload. And as a group, controllers are atypical unionists—an AFGE survey of those signing election petitions found that only 16 percent are registered Democrats. Most consider themselves politi-

THE STORY INSIDE

cally conservative; they like Reagan, though not his FAA, and think of themselves as professionals, not workers.

That has dictated a non-partisan, professional approach by AFGE, says Membership Director Dave Kushner. "The controllers see themselves as white-collar professionals in a highly technical field. But they believe they need a union to protect them, to provide them the opportunity to do their jobs better. We have to stress technical development and safety issues."

Safety is also important in developing public support for unionization, a crucial commodity for all public employees. PATCO's claims that the post-strike skies were less safe never held; the FAA points to fewer crashes and mid-air "near misses" since 1981. Others say the air-safety record is less clear. The FAA has changed its standards for what constitutes a near miss, notes John Galipault of the Aviation Safety Institute, improving appearances. But an ASI study of four major centers found "conflict alerts"—close calls between two planes—doubled between the immediate post-strike period and the following year. No figures have been made public for 1983 or 1984, according to Galipault.

"I am empathetic with the controllers for taking action, because you look at conditions in 1970, '79, '81 and today and nothing has changed," Galipault says. "We've been concerned about safety, and the strike has only exacerbated the problems." The Airline Pilots Association, also citing safety concerns, has endorsed the union drive.

AFGE's most crucial task may be distancing itself from PATCO's history of intransigence and defeat. AFGE organizing director John Thornton, a former PATCO leader who spent 10 days in jail for defying Reagan's back-to-work order, thinks the new union can avoid the mistakes of the old. "People look at the last three months before the strike, but that wasn't the real history of PATCO," he notes. Given the FAA's labor relations history, a new union could get backed against a wall, like PATCO, Thornton acknowledges. "But they should be given a chance to do it better."

Two happy fellows

Senior Editor John B. Judis has been awarded an Alicia Patterson Foundation fellowship for 1985. He will be on leave for the year but will write occasionally for *In These Times*. Art Director Miles DeCoster has received a *Washington Post-Newsweek* Stations fellowship, administered through the Washington Project for the Arts. He will research and produce an artist's book dealing with the history of broadcast television.



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By Dilip Hiro

TWO ASPECTS OF THE RECENT Indian election stand out: it was held in the wake of the assassination of Premier Indira Gandhi, and it was the first parliamentary poll in which television became an important factor.

At the time of the last election, in 1980, television was unavailable outside major cities. Since then, thanks to the installation of 175 relay stations linked by a satellite, three-quarters of 728 million Indians now have access to television. Since television is run by the Ministry of Information, the ruling Congress (Indira) Party benefitted by it at the expense of the opposition.

A violent death transformed Indira Gandhi from being a controversial politician to a national martyr who died in the cause of Indian unity. Her party exploited this electorally by producing huge posters with the caption: "Our martyred Mother of India." Truly, she proved more powerful dead than alive.

Since her two assassins were Sikhs, a religious minority, her murder engendered a surge of sympathy for her only surviving son, Rajiv, and her party among the Hindu community. (Whereas Sikhs are only 2 percent of the Indian population, Hindus are 83 percent.) In the process the two major pro-Hindu right-of-center parties found themselves trailing behind the Congress among Hindu voters.

Furthermore, Gandhi's death deprived the opposition forces (of the right and the left) of the single issue on which they could have united: the performance of Indira Gandhi's government. They then faced Rajiv Gandhi, who had been no more than a junior member of parliament. Since he had not exercised power, he could not be attacked on his record in office. By failing to coalesce, or even enter into seat-sharing agreements, the opposition parties paved the way for a sweeping victory for the Congress.

Rajiv Gandhi led a clever election campaign. He made no mention of the economic and other policies of his mother's administration. Instead he focused on a single subject—the issue of national unity. India's unity, he claimed, was endangered by the demands of secessionists and extremists. His party's leading slogan was simple and effective: "*Congress lao, Desh bachao*"—Bring in Congress, Save the nation.

Rajiv Gandhi also falsely accused the opposition parties of encouraging the Sikh extremists, thus implying that they were in league with an "international" conspiracy to destabilize India. This was the kind of sophistry used in the past by Indira Gandhi—something that put Rajiv's bewildered opponents on the defensive.

His comparative youth proved an electoral asset. Three-fifths of India's voters are under 40. The young electors identified more with him than the old opposition leaders, and his appeal was heightened by the fact that his brief political career had been unstained by corruption. In addition, he represented the heritage of the ruling Nehru-Gandhi dynasty. Jawharlal Nehru was independent India's first prime minister, and Mahatma (Mohandas Karamchand) Gandhi, the country's leading nationalist personality. Nehru's only child, Indira, married Feroze Gandhi, who was a Zoroastrian and had nothing to do with the Mahatma. Thus Rajiv Gandhi is part-Zoroastrian—a fact that is glossed over in India and abroad, to fit the image of an upper-class Brahminical family ruling India. Such credentials win votes in a predominantly rural society of India imbued with feudal values.

For all that the governing Congress Party won only 48 percent of the popular vote. Yet such is the nature of the first-past-the-post electoral system that this gave the Congress 78 percent of the 508 parliamentary seats at stake.

Rajiv Gandhi's election will mean more of the same

The new prime minister's immediate task is to end the army rule in the Sikh state of Punjab (where elections were not held) and return the province to popular civilian government. Sikhs form 11 percent of the ranks and 20 percent of the officer corps of the army. Failure to end the alienation of such a crucial minority poses serious security problems.

Last spring Rajiv Gandhi advised his mother to storm the Golden Temple in Amritsar to flush out the Sikh militants taking refuge there. During his election campaign he took a strong stance against

position group in the new parliament, the subject of more powers to the states cannot be brushed aside. There are compelling reasons for decentralizing power in India, if only to build up grassroots democracy.

Those who have high hopes for a new chapter in the political-administrative life are likely to be disappointed. It is true that Rajiv Gandhi, an airline pilot who shunned politics until a few years ago, is a decent, honest man. And it is also true that, in line with his promise to provide honest and efficient administration, he



The evidence shows Rajiv Gandhi is adopting his mother's style of running the country.

regional aspirations, equating them with secession and political independence. Both these factors will militate against his success in enticing the comparatively moderate Sikh Akali Dal leaders into a compromise.

With the regional Telugu Desam Party members forming the largest single op-

Gandhi has retained most of the old party leaders and he will govern with the assistance of bureaucrats and personnel advisors rather than political colleagues.

position group in the new parliament, the subject of more powers to the states cannot be brushed aside. There are compelling reasons for decentralizing power in India, if only to build up grassroots democracy.

But corruption in India goes much deeper than that. Since independence in 1947 the black economy has grown to such an extent that today it amounts, according to some estimates, to 50 percent of the gross national product. Responsibility for this must lie with the Congress Party that has ruled all along, except for a brief three-year period.

The ruling party's election campaign is customarily funded by black money; and this time was no exception. Rajiv Gandhi must know this. To expect his government to mount a determined campaign to root out corruption is to expect someone to strangle his own throat.

Over the past few decades, fostered by the Congress Party, a nexus of politicians-bureaucrats-businessmen has grown up in the country. The under-the-counter profits of big business houses are the chief source of bribes to bureaucrats and ruling politicians. Will the youthful premier try to break this nexus by getting tough with tax evaders? Will his government legislate to regulate the funding of political parties? Not likely.

The evidence available shows that Rajiv Gandhi is adopting his mother's style in the running of the country and the party. His conduct of the election campaign, with all the limelight focused on him, replicated what Indira Gandhi used to do. It was more electioneering for presidency

rather than parliamentary majority.

Rajiv Gandhi has retained most of the old party leaders as senior cabinet ministers. And by taking on the important ministries of commerce, foreign affairs and industry, he has concentrated power into his own hands. He will govern with the assistance of top bureaucrats and personal advisers rather than political colleagues.

Given the business background of his important aides, ties between the Congress Party and industrialists will grow even closer. Indian capitalists want to embark on large-scale partnerships with Western companies—a development that has hitherto been discouraged by successive Indian governments committed to the overall goal of self-sufficiency. The Indian planners, guided by Nehru, rightly believed that close economic ties with Western multinationals would lead to erosion of political independence. The current example of a Third World giant like Brazil bears out the truth of their view.

Moscow-Delhi ties.

Now, with a prime minister who reportedly is fascinated with electronic gadgetry, Indian business houses will have a good chance of forging links with Western companies in the name of acquiring high technology. The government, however, will have to be careful not to let Western capitals believe that they can wean India away from the Soviet Union in diplomatic and defense matters. Delhi's friendship with Moscow is based on something more fundamental than the like and dislikes of individual premiers.

Thus India can be expected to clash with Washington in the coming months. India sees itself as the natural leader of Southeast Asia: Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The only serious challenge to the Indian aspiration comes from the U.S., which wants to draw these countries under its wings.

Having inducted Pakistan into its strategic military plans, the U.S. is now integrating Sri Lanka into its Indian Ocean strategy. India views these developments with growing suspicion and resentment. The only way it can balance the Pakistani-American equation is by continuing its close links with Moscow.

Military cooperation between Delhi and Moscow plays an important role in this relationship. It grew out of India's determination to become self-sufficient in military production and the refusal of Western arms manufacturers to sell licenses to India for producing sophisticated weapons at home.

These basic relationships are unlikely to change under Rajiv Gandhi's premiership. The Kremlin recognized the importance of Rajiv as soon as he was appointed the Congress Party's general secretary in 1982. He was invited to Moscow and given the red carpet treatment.

But this had no impact on the policies of the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India and the independent Communist Party of India (Marxist). Both of them opposed the Congress Party, which they consider as representing the interests of industrialists and landlords.

Interestingly, they suffered less due to the pro-Congress wing than did the rightist parties. Their joint strength in parliament declined from 47 to 28, whereas that of the two right-wing parties fell from 63 to five. The overall objective of the Communists is to ensure that Indian capitalism does not get co-opted into the Western multinational network, and grows along an independent path.

It appears likely that Rajiv Gandhi's government will do no better than his mother's in tackling the mounting urban unemployment. This, in turn, will lead to disillusionment among the young Indians who flocked to vote for his party late last month. Such a situation should offer fresh opportunities to left forces to gain ground in the world's largest democracy.

Dilip Hiro is the author of *Inside India Today*.

INSHORT

All walled up

They were told they'd be locked up until they "purged" themselves of criminal intent. Or they could choose a more humane alternative: an equally long sentence of service to the Salvation Army, "eight hours a day, seven days a week." Twelve of the 13 protesters chose jail. In the continuing battle between the largest manufacturer of the cruise engine in the U.S. and the Michigan peace community, state courts are shaping up as a real heavy. The protester's crime: blocking the driveway to the Williams International plant in Walled Lake, Mich., while distributing jobs-conversion literature. The Oakland County Circuit Court's sentence of jail or Salvation service came about because Williams International obtained an injunction against trespassing last year.

This is the fourth group of protesters jailed for trespassing since the injunction. Some people in the earlier groups were released while the Michigan court of appeals studies the legality of the indefinite sentence for a "civil contempt" charge. Others refused the appeals process and were released when Williams International notified the court that enough time had passed for punishment. Since then, though, the judge that tried an earlier group has been red-baiting—"They are all agents of somebody, either the police or the Communists"—and the protesters feel the cards are stacked against them. Their response: a plea to Amnesty International to consider them political prisoners to publicize their plight.

Calling the Lincoln Brigade

The 350 surviving members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade will be celebrating their 50th anniversary next year. And a recent law passed by Spain's Gonzalez government may be a small first step in acknowledging Spain's debt to the members of the International Brigades and all who fought for the Republic. The law promises a small pension—\$175 a month—for people who "participated as soldiers under the command of the Spanish Republic." Whether that will include the 15th Brigade (commonly known as the Lincoln Brigade, though it did include Canadians, Cubans, Mexicans, English and Irish) won't be known until requests for the pensions are made. Since 15th members were under the command of the Republic, they should be entitled to benefits. But according to Pedro Mateo Merino, an ex-commandante for the 35th division, there is some question whether the present "socialist" government will so publicly acknowledge its debt to the Republican forces.

The deadline for filing for the pension is February 2 and application can be made through a local Spanish consulate or by contacting John Rossen for further information at (312) 493-0312 or (312) 663-1664. Rossen, a veteran Brigader from Chicago, encourages veterans who may not need the money "to insist for it on principle and then donate it to a good cause in Spain or the U.S."

You're in the army now...

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) is also sending out a call to soldiers, but not to alert them of possible pensions. The New York-based peace group recently began a nationwide campaign to reach U.S. recruits and prod them into thinking about their role should the U.S. army get more deeply involved in Central America. FOR's big splash was a full-page ad—"An Open Letter to Soldiers at Fort Bragg"—that was published in mid-December in Fayetteville, N.C., daily newspapers. The ad, after citing facts to support the claim that U.S. buildup in Central America could not rationally be seen as a defensive maneuver, informs the soldiers that they do have alternatives to military service in Central America. FOR and two local peace groups—the Carolina Interfaith Task Force on Central America and the Quaker House in Fayetteville—provide job counseling to ease the strain of soldiers contemplating a change. Norman Solomon of FOR says, "It may seem like a drop in the bucket, but in any question of conscience you have to reach people face to face. You have to persuade one by one." Ft. Bragg is a logical first target—the majority of U.S. troops that invaded Grenada were stationed at the North Carolina base.

The empiricists have it

Thirty-seven million people live within Poland's borders, a record high that has led to some wonderfully disparate speculation. According to the *London Observer*, the Polish government says the population growth confirms the country's stability and popular confidence in official policies. The government's rival, the Catholic Church, sees it as a sign of success in its crusade against free abortion. Not to be outdone, sociologists explain it as the result of a retreat into family life after the stormy years of Solidarity. But, according to the *Observer*, "people in the street are saying it's the result of shoddy production in the contraceptives industry."

—Beth Maschinot

Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and telephone number.



Science helps build a new India

Oxen working the fields... the eternal river Ganges... jeweled elephants on parade. Today these symbols of ancient India exist side by side with a new sight—modern industry. India has developed bold new plans to build its economy and bring the promise of a bright future to its more than 400,000,000 people. But India needs the technical knowledge of the western world. For example, working with Indian engineers and technicians, Union Carbide recently made available its vast scientific resources to help build a major chemicals and plastics plant near Bombay. Throughout the free world, Union Carbide has been actively engaged in building plants for the manufacture of chemicals, plastics, carbons, gases, and metals. The people of Union Carbide welcome the opportunity to use their knowledge and skills in partnership with the citizens of so many great countries.

A HAND IN THINGS TO COME

UNION CARBIDE

a hand in things to come

The 1984 Prognosticator's Award goes to Union Carbide for its prescient series of post WWII ads titled "A hand in things to come." Contributor William Starkweather says in the original ad the liquid being poured on India is blood red.

Duarte backs down on truce

SAN SALVADOR—The Salvadoran peace talks have little future and that became even more clear when the FDR-FLMN offered a unilateral Christmas truce and President Duarte couldn't accept because the military was opposed. The limits of President Duarte's real power had never been quite so apparent—although Duarte always emphasizes that he is commander in chief of the armed forces, now it's clear that the army is only listening to him when it wants to.

When the rebels announced their cease-fire on December 11, the government's initial response was positive. "We accept with pleasure," said the president's press secretary, Oscar Reyes. "Government soldiers," he said, would limit themselves to "defensive action."

But suddenly the government's response became confused and ambiguous—the government

said the truce was positive but that the military would not be confined to the barracks. The army had vetoed the truce.

"We don't have to follow a truce that did not come from our armed forces—from our superiority," said Army Chief of Staff Col. Adolfo Blandon. "Army operations had been planned for six months," Blandon said. "It won't be the terrorists who impose their conditions on us or submit us to their tactics."

To underscore their point the army made the statement after reoccupying La Palma—the site of the first peace talks on October 13 and a town that has chiefly been under guerrilla control for the last two years. The army staged a major show of force during the December 15 swearing-in ceremony for soldiers in La Palma which included a fly-over by Air Force jets controlled by the rightist Air Force Chief Col. Juan Bustillo.

Also outspoken against the truce was Lt. Col. Sigfriedo Ochoa, a gung-ho rightist commander who only recently returned from a year and a half of training in Washington after re-

belling against the defense minister in January 1983. Ochoa told reporters that the war would only be ended by a military victory and that he had planned to go ahead with his normal operations. He said that if his troops encounter the guerrillas they would fight. His troops were involved in two incidents in which the Christmas truce was broken.

So while the rightists officers talked, Duarte, their supposed commander in chief, was uncharacteristically silent. The army seems unwilling to allow anything of substance out of the peace talks which it has opposed from the outset. And with the other major players in El Salvador—the right and the United States—also opposed to a negotiated solution, the peace talks seem dead.

Still, President Duarte needs to keep the issue alive until the March 17 assembly elections in which he hopes to wrest control of the assembly away from the ultra-right. Few observers, however, are giving Duarte much chance of picking up more than one or two seats—certainly not enough to shift the balance.

Recently, the rightist-controlled assembly has been on the offensive, cutting the budget for key ministries in the government. The biggest cut was the ministry of agriculture which funds the programs directly affecting Duarte's campesino base. At the same time the assembly increased the already sizeable budget of the right-controlled supreme court, the attorney general's office and other right-controlled entities.

Additionally, the assembly passed an electoral law barring close relatives of the president from running in the upcoming elections. The move was clearly aimed at Duarte's son who is mayor of San Salvador and was going to run against a candidate of a right coalition. Duarte vetoed the bill but the assembly defied Duarte by publishing the law in the official record anyway. The dispute will probably end up in the supreme court.

As Guillermo Ungo of the opposition FDR noted, "Every time Duarte is more subordinated and subjugated by the right." Although he called Duarte's position "precarious," Ungo noted that it is unlikely that he will be a victim of a coup d'etat since he's "key to the American strategy."

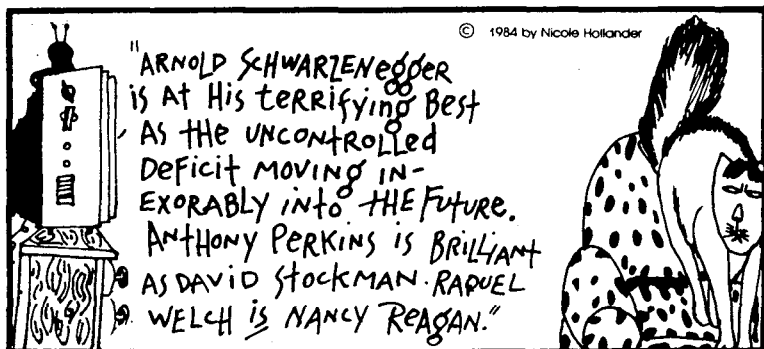
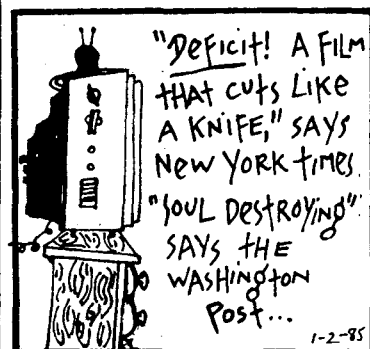
—Chris Norton

Hushed trial in South Africa

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA—The trial of three people accused of high treason (see *In These Times*,

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Sept. 19, 1984) came to a surprising and abrupt conclusion here in late September 1984.

Roland Hunter, Derek Hanekom and Trish Hanekom were arrested in December 1983 by South African security police. Hunter, a member of the South African Defence Force (SADF), was accused of passing highly sensitive military documents to the African National Congress (ANC) and the Mozambican government. The leaked documents were alleged to have been military records and log books detailing the extent of support being given by the SADF to South African-backed rebel movements, particularly to the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR). The Hanekoms were accused of putting Hunter in contact with the ANC.

Hunter, who could have been executed for his actions, received a five years sentence. Trish Hanekom was sentenced to three years imprisonment, while her husband was given a two year sentence. Her verdict was handed down on September 28—three days after the trial began.

The South African government was extremely concerned about the defendants' evidence, which reportedly would have linked the Pretoria regime with destabilization actions against the Frontline states of southern Africa. As a result, the trial was held *in camera*, barring the press and public from the proceedings.

But friends of Hunter and the Hanekoms who were involved in support work around the case claimed that the government was aware that courtroom information leaks would still be inevitable. The government considered the defendants' evidence to be so damaging that they decided to strike a deal with the defense. In return for shortened sentences, no evidence would be presented in court and none would be leaked by the defendants' legal team.

But evidence that Pretoria has already suffered the consequences of what one security police official admitted was a "dramatic penetration of South African intelligence" emerged this past fall. In October, negotiations began between officials of South Africa, Mozambique and the MNR in an attempt to end the protracted guerrilla war that has paralyzed Mozambique since its independence in 1975. But the talks broke down, with MNR representatives accusing the South African government of colluding with the Mozambican government of Samora Machel in order to force the MNR into signing a cease-fire. Pik Botha, the South African foreign minister, sharply criticized the MNR and hinted that South African troops may soon be deployed inside Mozambique to protect key power lines at the Cahora Bassa dam.

The MNR has suddenly become a political and public relations liability for the apartheid regime, as Pretoria seeks desperately to bluff its role as a peace-maker in the affairs of southern Africa. By exposing the destabilization activities sponsored by Pretoria, the three defendants have succeeded in at least temporarily forcing the regime to call its own bluff.

—David Goodman

Ohio: 'no' to divestment

WASHINGTON, DC—While picketers keep up their daily vigil outside the South African Embassy in Washington, a massive state divestment bill quietly failed to pass the Ohio state Senate by one vote last month, although state and national organizers were initially optimistic about the bill's chances.

Sponsored by state Senator William Bowen and Democratic state Representative C.J. McLin of Dayton, the \$2.6 billion bill would have required the state of Ohio to divest a wide range of state funds in banks and corporations that do business in or with the Republic of South Africa.

"This would have been the largest divestment bill ever," said lobbyist Janet Jakobsen of the Washington Office on Africa. "We expected easy passage in the House if it passed in the Senate."

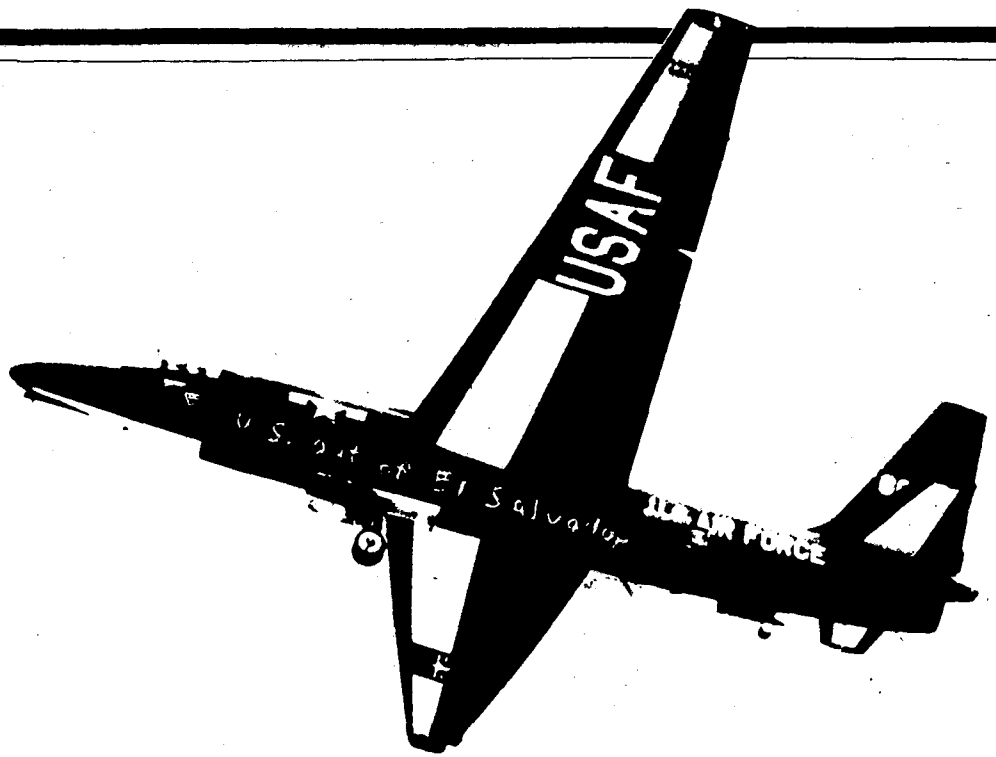
The proposed legislation would have required divestment of all bank deposits in the state Treasury, all public university system funds and all Ohio state workman's compensation funds. The bulk of the divestment would have been \$2.3 billion in five state pension funds, including those of the Service Employees Union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Communication Workers of America. First introduced in January 1983, the bill was pushed through a lame duck session of the Democratic-controlled state Senate because the chances for passage were considered better than when the newly elected Republican-controlled Senate takes office in January.

Carol Guest, an aide to Sen. Bowen, said that Bowen "feels the money would be better invested in Ohio than in support of South African apartheid. It's to our economic advantage to have the money invested in the U.S." She predicted that Bowen, who supports total U.S. divestment from South Africa, will reintroduce the Ohio legislation.

The bill was close to passage not only because of recent front page publicity of South Africa, but also because Ohio has anti-apartheid committees in each major city, plus a state-wide coalition. "People have been working there seriously for a year," said Jakobsen, who lobbies for state drives from Washington. "There was a strong feeling on the part of the sponsors that people were ready."

Well over 20 states have similar bills pending for the coming year. Since the late '70s, five states and 13 cities—including Boston, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.—have approved divestment bills, each requiring some but not all state or city funds to be sold. The Ohio legislation was different, Jakobsen said, because it was more comprehensive than divestment bills previously enacted. The bills in Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan and Nebraska each mandated divestment of less than \$1 billion. Some 350 American corporations have about \$2.3 billion invested in South Africa.

—Barbara Yuill



Briefing: Politics as usual at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base

DAYTON, OHIO—In 1973, three years after she came to work at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Betty Carroll decided to bring her political work inside by putting up a display on her union's bulletin board at the base. Over the reservations of the union president and to the discomfort of many fellow employees, Carroll put up literature warning of threats to civil liberties. The next day her display had been torn down.

Today the union bulletin board displays posters criticizing U.S. intervention in Central America and Carroll, as senior vice president of Local 1138 of the American Federation of Government Employees, has joined other unionists in frequent political expression at the base. In the past two years, Local 1138, which represents 4,700 clerical, technical and security workers, condemned military aid to Central America and called for an end to the arms race. At a base that has trained pilots from El Salvador and managed the research and development of the B-1 and B-1B bombers, these messages hit home.

A hefty share of the Air Force weapons budget changes hands at Wright-Patterson, which besides being the largest air base in the world is the top research and development outpost of the U.S. Air Force. The base serves as headquarters for the powerful Air Force Logistics Command and the Aeronautical Systems Division of the Systems Command. With its 32,000 civilian and military personnel and its coterie of military contractors, Wright-Patterson is by far the largest employer in the area.

Neither fear for their jobs nor a climate hardly conducive to free speech at Wright-Patterson has stopped union members from speaking out against U.S. military policy. AFGE Local 1138 has joined the national union in calling for the conversion of military production to peaceful uses, for a bilateral, verifiable nuclear freeze, for an end to military assistance to El Salvador and Nicaraguan contras and the start of negotia-

tions in El Salvador. The local also endorsed the Ohio Women's Peace Walk this July and an El Salvador protest in May 1982, both of which targeted Wright-Patterson.

The El Salvador protest, which local members voted to support after hearing about attacks on unions in El Salvador, brought the union its greatest publicity and most trouble. A photographer for the *Dayton Daily News* shot Carroll holding a union sign as she knelt near six protesters who staged a sit-in at one of the base's gates.

When Carroll's picture was published, the Air Force charged her with breaking a law that prohibits federal employees from interfering with their agencies' missions, the same law used to fire striking PATCO workers. Local 1138 President Don Cook, also at the protest, was charged with the same infraction.

"People were trying to get into the commissary. That was the mission I was supposedly interfering with—the mission of

charge against the base, Cook got his old job back along with the union presidency. This year, two militant union officers were fired as part of job-related firings that have soured labor relations at the base under Reagan. Carroll, a programmer-analyst at the base, began work there in 1970, the year the union was organized. She was active then in anti-war, civil rights and feminist issues and helped to organize demonstrations outside the base.

Carroll estimates that 80 to 90 percent of the active members of the union (those who come to meetings and participate in union projects) now support its political stands.

The union's stands are more surprising because as federal employees all its members are "Hatched"—covered by the Hatch Act—and denied most of the rights to take part in partisan politics taken for granted by other union members. The act is worded vaguely enough to cover just about any political act. Thus, a pre-election article in the unofficial base newspaper urged employees to check with the personnel office first "to make sure that any political activity they wish to undertake is permissible."

"The act discourages many people from doing anything, because it could mean losing your job. You have to be careful even about criticizing the administration," says Carroll.

But the Hatch Act can't stop federal employees from speaking their minds on issues, which she and others at Wright-Patterson intend to keep on doing.

—Jack Neff

retirees and military people to get in to buy their food at discount prices," says Carroll.

Carroll and Cook could have lost their jobs, but the regional and national offices of the Federal Labor Relations Authority cleared them after a year and a half.

Wright-Patterson officials have opposed the leftward movement of the union's leadership for five years. When Cook was elected local president in 1979, the Air Force suddenly promoted him against his wishes to a supervisory position, a move that would have ended his eligibility to be a union member or officer. After filing an unfair labor practices



THE LOOMING QUESTION ABOUT the recent 17th Palestine National Council (PNC) and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) concerns the face beneath the mask: is Yasir Arafat prepared to bring a PLO majority aboard a peace initiative? Or are the signs of greater openness merely tactical flexibility alongside strategic rigidity?

There is evidence to defend either proposition, which leaves one way out: to assume that both are partially true—that Arafat is trying to open one door while simultaneously keeping another from closing.

The PLO has always proceeded from the premise that it should remain aloof from conflicts among or within the Arab states. The two most glaring examples of disregard for this premise were disastrous. In both cases, Jordan in 1970 and Lebanon from 1975-82, the PLO became one side in an intra-Arab conflict and suffered large-scale massacres, by the Jordanian army in Black September and by the Christian Phallange in Beirut in 1982. The Arab power involved in both cases was allied in some way with Israel. (In 1970, Israel blocked the Syrian attempt to intervene on behalf of the PLO.) Israeli power has served to secure what is called in Jerusalem “the Jordanian option”: the viability of King Hussein’s regime in the storm surrounding peace talks with Israel.

After Lebanon, Arafat was forced to sever his ties with Damascus, thus becoming

The PLO is now officially split into three rival super-factions. A clear majority supports Yasir Arafat.

ing a “side” within the larger Arab state conflict and losing some of his room for maneuver. The Syrians now regularly denounce him and demand his removal from the PLO leadership as a precondition for a *rapprochement*. They object—besides not being in control of the PLO themselves—to the small window Arafat has opened to the U.S. and by extension to Israel.

The PNC opening was attacked by the Syrian government-owned *Tishrin* newspaper, which compared Arafat to “his predecessor” Sadat. The paper cautioned Arafat to recall Sadat’s “fate.” The party newspaper *al-bath* called Arafat “a traitor in the service of Zionist and imperialist masters” whose “schemes” the Syrians “know how to foil.”

Arafat succeeded in overcoming Syrian opposition and demonstrated his ability to convene a two-thirds quorum of the Council. This indicates the ground he has recovered since fleeing the Tripoli under siege by the Syrian-backed rebel faction of his Fatah. Syrian Defense Minister Mustafa Tlass describes Arafat as “a clown...[who] likes to fight like the heroes of *A Thousand and One Nights*, like Sinbad the Sailor. When the theatrical thunder died down in Tripoli, Arafat withdrew.”

Rival factions.

The PLO is now officially split into three rival super-factions. A clear majority supports Arafat. The other two—the Democratic Front (DF) and the National Front (NF)—both oppose him, but for different reasons. The DF, comprising George Habash’s Popular Front, Nawaf Hawatmeh’s Democratic Popular Front and the small Palestine Communist Party, boycotted the PNC. They object to talk of joining Jordan in a peace initiative, and to the emerging “American option.”

MIDEAST

Can PLO be united for peace initiative?

But Habash and Hawatmeh also object to Palestinian capitulation to the Syrians, to a loss of “Palestinian independence of decision.” They flew to Moscow just before the sessions opened in Amman to differentiate their opposition from the Syrian-backed National Front and to keep the door open to reconciliation.

The Soviets, however, will only go so far before breaking with Arafat. Reliable sources in Jerusalem confirm that Moscow has signalled the Saudis it will not allow a new American-only Mideast peace initiative.

The Saudis, who play the role of permanent treasurer to the moderate Arab consensus, feel the threat to their regime, and will probably stand pat, unable to move in any direction for fear of the consequences. The Soviet position in favor of an international conference they would co-chair is supported by Arafat’s majority, by King Hussein and even by Egypt’s President Mubarak. But with progressively lower levels of commitment.

The NF, including the Fatah rebels led by Abu Musa, the pro-Syrian a-Saika and Ahmed Jibril’s General Command, remained in Damascus, signalling the depth of their hostility to Arafat. The PNC reacted by expelling the NF members while leaving three vacant seats on the new Executive Committee for the DF constituents.

The most remarkable feature of the meeting was King Hussein’s speech. It was amazing not only for its content but also for the fact that the PLO leadership was smiling and applauding the man who ordered their defeat and expulsion from Jordan 14 years ago.

The PNC opened with a moment’s silence to remember Palestinian victims. Hussein stood along with Arafat. Whatever bitter irony that may have evoked, it did not prevent the delegates from applauding.

Hussein called for an “international conference” to fight for a Palestinian state. He underlined his respect for Palestinian independence (and by implication, the Syrian rejection of that independence), declaring that it was up to the delegates to decide whether to go with Jordan or “alone.” Jordan would support them either way.

But his speech left no doubt that Hussein preferred the joint approach. He reminded delegates that time may not be on the side of the Palestinians, mirroring the argument of Israeli researcher Meron Benvenisti who argues that the West Bank is already de facto annexed to Israel—that it is “five minutes to midnight” for a “land for peace” deal.

A heavy price.

Hussein warned against leaving it “for generations to come” just because making a deal now requires paying a heavy diplomatic price. (This was in response to the Syrian argument that negotiations with Israel can only follow the attainment of Arab military superiority, a goal Hussein and the Egyptians dismiss as far in the future.) “Isn’t this a clear evasion of responsibility?” he asked.

He also appealed to younger West Bank leaders more interested in a deal to regain the West Bank than the older refugees who see land for peace as a requirement, not a surrender. Arafat also responded to the emergence of this constituency by appointing two deposed West Bank mayors, Fahd Kawasma and Muhamed Milhelm, to the newly elected Executive Committee.

The two were first elected in the municipal elections in 1976, when Shimon Peres was Israeli minister of defense. Arafat may have been signalling Peres that these were his candidates to represent the PLO in a joint Jordanian/Palestinian

delegation. Peres has long maintained that if there are Palestinians in the Jordanian delegation to peace talks they won’t have their credentials checked very closely.

(Fahd Kawasma, who was named minister for the occupied territories, was gunned down in Amman on December 30. The Israelis did not allow his family to bury him in his native Hebron, reluctant to signal any acceptance of PLO moderation. Arafat publicly denounced the Syrians and Libyans as responsible for the assassination.)

Hussein called on the PNC to join Jordan in support of Security Council resolution 242 as the basis for a peace settlement according to the principle of “land for peace.”

Immediately following his speech,

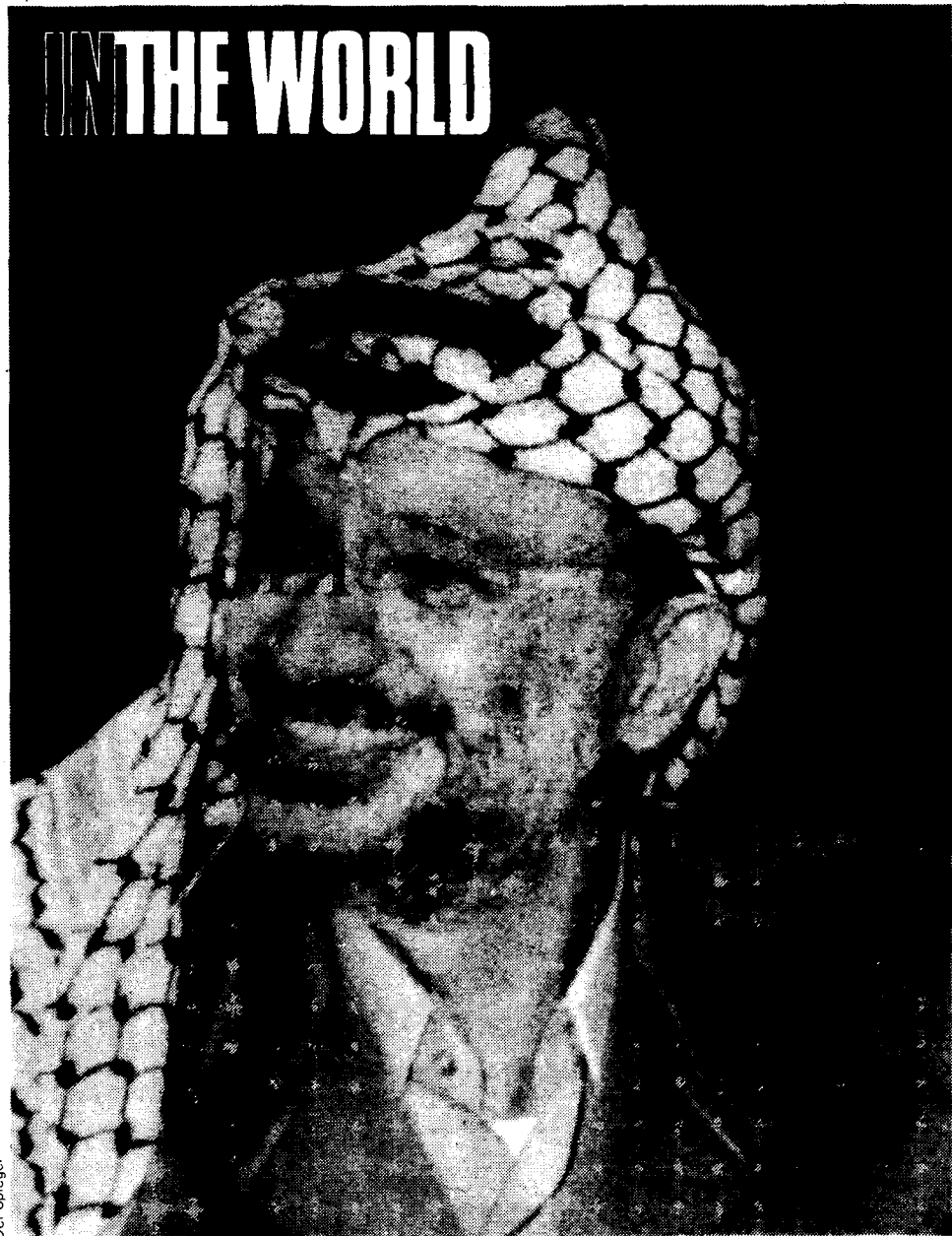
IN THESE TIMES: JAN. 89-15, 1985 7
Egypt, Iraq and, hopefully, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, Morocco, Tunisia, etc.

Such a peace process, once begun, would generate a momentum with a softening effect on everyone’s positions, so that Israel might give up more territory than it intended, and the Arabs might settle for less than they want.

Arafat’s clipped wings.

Arafat’s characteristic caution keeps him in the PLO leadership, but it also keeps his wings clipped. To keep open the option of *rapprochement* with the Soviets and the Democratic Front, he cannot move too far toward the Egyptian view. Partially to placate this camp, the PNC reiterated support for the “armed struggle” but this seemed mostly like lip service. It allowed Israeli leaders to avoid a serious public discussion of what had just transpired, but was not taken seriously. Even *Nekuda*, the journal of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, wrote that “the PLO is almost ripe for the political option” and called for intensified efforts to settle and annex the territories to Israel.

Israeli policymakers are divided about how to respond. Peres is convinced he can keep the Likud in line while he pursues contacts with Hussein. Defense Min-



Yasir Arafat’s characteristic caution keeps him in the PLO leadership, but it also keeps his wings clipped.

Hussein flew to Cairo, his first visit there since severing relations at the time of Camp David. Mubarek supported Hussein’s initiative, but the Egyptians are known to be less enthusiastic about an international conference. They understand the depth of U.S. and Israeli opposition to the idea. They argue that the Soviets can neither block a new initiative, despite their threats, nor moderate the extremist rejectionist line if they participate; and that therefore an American option, based on the 1982 Reagan Plan or something close to it remains the Arabs’ best bet.

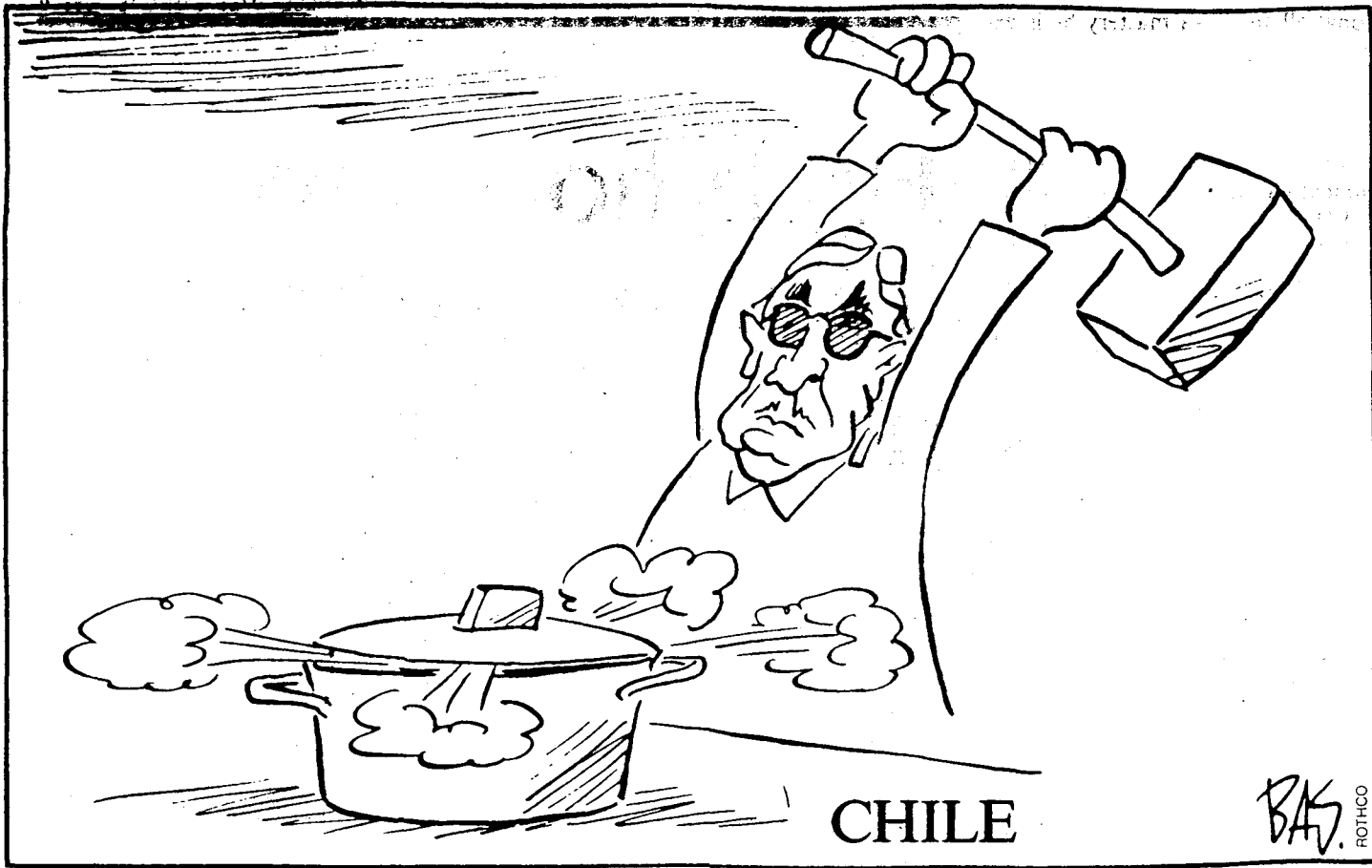
The Jordanians have been arguing that the international conference will get the PLO aboard—everyone agrees that without Arafat and his crew the peace ship won’t sail. Furthermore, they suggest that the Syrians would not attend such a conference if invited, and that the Soviets would settle for the role of passive co-chair.

In either case, both Cairo and Amman agree that the bottom line is PLO majority support for a new peace initiative together with Jordan, and supported by

ister Yitshak Rabin and Abba Eban argue that the entire issue can only “advance” after there has been some real progress in stabilizing the economy, withdrawing from Lebanon and repairing relations with Egypt. Doves, who dominate the parliamentary Labor Party, want a more forthcoming recognition and encouragement of the movement on the Arab side. Peres is betting that by the time the American option ripens, he will be ready and willing to survive the break up of his unity coalition.

Both Italian Prime Minister Benito Craxi and the Egyptians maintain that Arafat has agreed to the American option and to UN resolution 242. But Israelis remain nervous. The optimists say that Arafat understands that Israel will not participate unless this is explicit and that international public opinion, and especially American opinion, will only agree to Israeli concessions if the return is full peace and recognition as in the case of the Egyptian-Israeli peace.

David Twersky is editor of *Spectrum*, a Labor monthly published in Tel Aviv.



As political unrest grows, torture practices worsen

By Dennis Bernstein & Connie Blitt

ONLY A PAIR OF TWEEZERS was left undamaged when the Chilean armed forces finished ransacking a neighborhood health clinic in Santiago on November 10. In a pre-dawn raid thousands of military men in helicopters, small tanks and buses surrounded the Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez shantytown and started a house-to-house

"search." Homes made out of boards and plastic sheets were devastated. All males over the age of 13 were herded at gunpoint into trucks and buses. Nearly 6,000 people were arrested in what proved to be the first of a series of massive raids on poor neighborhoods throughout the city.

An Associated Press report in the *Kansas City Star* gave prominence to the Chilean government's description of these operations as "part of a crackdown on common criminals and terrorists."

"Hard Times for Pinochet" read a headline in the *New York Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune* announced, "Chile needs a heavy hand, leader says." The State Department strained for the appearance of balance in its statement describing the current situation as a "cycle of terrorism, repression and protest." The impression created is that General Augusto Pinochet, although possibly a bit excessive, has had to take drastic actions to protect innocent Chileans from left-wing terrorist violence.

Aryeh Neier, vice chairman of the human rights organization Americas Watch, has a different view of the situation. He believes the target of Pinochet's repression is not terrorism, but growing political discontent. "What's going on right now," said Neier, who was in Chile on a fact-finding tour when the Novem-

ber 10 raid took place, "is that the Pinochet government is desperately trying to hold onto power, and it is trying to display as much force and as much terror as it can get away with in terms of international opinion."

According to Raul Silva Henriquez, the Roman Catholic Cardinal of Chile and a popular critic of Pinochet, more than 85 percent of the Chilean population now opposes the government. Many middle and upper-class Chileans who once supported the general are no longer willing to exchange basic civil rights for the unfulfilled promise of financial success. "In the last year," explains Ariel Dorfman, Chilean journalist and poet-in-exile, "a mass movement of protest has grown bold enough to take to the streets, and repression has had to grow correspondingly public."

On November 6, election day in the U.S., Pinochet asserted his military might by declaring a 90-day state of seige. Since then there has been a strict curfew in place and a grave increase, according to Amnesty International, in the number of students, union officials and other political leaders who have been imprisoned or "disappeared" by government security forces. The shantytowns, or *poblaciones*, recent sites of adamant protests against Pinochet, have been hardest hit under the state of seige.

Ironically, the *poblaciones*, where unemployment has reached 65 percent and starvation is not unusual, are islands of democracy within the dictatorship; local elections are regularly held for neighborhood councils and community presidents. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* characterized the Cardinal Henriquez *poblacion*, where the first of the mass arrests took place, as a "Marxist-controlled slum." According to Neier, "Using a term like 'Marxist-controlled slum' sounds like a situation of armed revolution. This is a wholly false notion. What happened is that the left won an election."

Jackie Manriquez, a Chilean now living in exile in the U.S., also refutes the

Continued on page 10

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RIO DE JANEIRO

ON JANUARY 15, 20 YEARS OF military rule in Brazil will come to an end when the Brazilian Electoral College officially designates the opposition party candidate Tancredo Neves as the country's new president.

In Brazil members of the Electoral College—senators, congressmen and representatives of state assemblies—although registered with a party are not obliged to vote for their party's candidate, known as "partisan infidelity." When Neves receives an expected 500 of the 686 electoral votes next week he will get them in large part from members of his opponent's party.

Paulo Maluf, the government party candidate, is a member of congress and was governor of the state of Sao Paulo. His governorship was marked by public scandal, linked with the military regime that appointed him. A recent poll conducted by the magazine *Isto E*, estimates that he retains only 13 percent support.

Maluf has made every effort to win the election, including a last-ditch attempt to change the rules. In November, he and his supporters petitioned the Superior Electoral Tribunal for a revocation of the "partisan infidelity" rule. When the petition was denied, the *Jornal do Brasil* applauded: "The unanimity of the judicial decision has swept away all the debris of subterfuge, intrigue and artfulness. The only objective of the petition was to subvert the free will of the 686 members of the Electoral College in whom resides the responsibility of electing the next president."

Brazilians refer to Tancredo Neves by his first name. His name can be seen everywhere. It flutters on election banners, glims on yellow campaign buttons and is used in formal newspaper editorials. His overwhelming popularity may enable Brazil to negotiate a smooth transition from military dictatorship to an interim democracy, and then to direct elections in 1986.

Neves, a small, round-faced man with coolly appraising eyes, will not accomplish transition in a burst of revolutionary ardor, but by bargaining and compromise. The new democratic government will be moderate. It will offer political immunity to the departing military leaders by promising not to entertain left-leaning policies and by absorbing into its center many high-level officials of the current government. Compromise and pragmatic conciliation are the hallmark of Neves' success in politics.

The last old fox.

Tancredo Neves began his career 40 years ago as a member of congress from the influential state of Minas Gerais. It has a severe landscape with jagged hills assaulting a clear blue sky, and its inhabitants are known for their rugged willfulness. Since colonial times, the state's political mood has been a barometer for Brazilian politics.

Neves became familiar nationally in 1954 as minister of justice in the Vargas administration and then as prime minister during Joao Goulart's last democratic regime. He was instrumental in creating a Brazilian parliament under Goulart that was destined to be crushed by the military. After that he remained a key figure in the opposition Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB).

As governor of Minas Gerais Neves was marked by openness. He held monthly press conferences at which no subject was off limits. During his term he was unable to eliminate the state debt, but without raising taxes he put immense capital outlays into public educational facilities.

In a country where 45 percent of the population is illiterate or semi-illiterate, his emphasis on school construction was seen as a strong commitment to democracy. But Neves is no single-minded crusader for the masses. In fact, he is called the last "old fox" of Minas Gerais' dynastic line of politicians. At the age of 74, Neves is a survivor. He has come through these battles a master of welding together

functional alliances—a mastery he is exhibiting currently.

Last August, in a maneuver that left the whole country perplexed, Neves accepted Senator Jose Sarney as his running mate. Sarney had been a president for the government party, the Social Democratic Party (PDS). Along with 52 other politicians, Sarney deserted the PDS when Maluf became its presidential candidate. PDS deserters offered Neves support if he would accept Sarney as a running mate. He agreed.

Veja, the Brazilian equivalent of *Newsweek*, wrote that "the Neves candidacy was marked by a paradox in that it accepted old rivals into its camp" without undermining its strength. Instead, Neves placed himself at the head of a new and powerful coalition, the Alianca Democratica. The "old fox" had not only absorbed new support he had provided a haven for those wishing to abandon the military regime. In doing so he also stripped Maluf of support.

Just after Neves accepted Sarney as his running mate, he said that "the only way to end the military regime in Brazil is to merge political forces. If to achieve this objective we have to make alliances with

Once elected, Tancredo Neves will face the task of reactivating the economy and cutting inflation and unemployment. To do this, he will have to renegotiate the foreign debt of \$100 billion owed to 800 creditors.

political forces that until yesterday were against us, why not do it? This is the only way to re-establish democracy."

Despite the diversity of his allies—from the right wing to the Communists—Neves has emerged as the popular

BRAZIL

High hopes for Tancredo Neves' new leadership

symbol of change. (Only the Workers Party lead by the steelworker "Lula" refuses to accept the coalition.) Wherever Neves travels, he is met by huge crowds who chant "*muda Brasil*"—"change Brazil."

Events in early November were crucial in consolidating Neves' support. In Rio de Janeiro, 1,500 leaders of the business community organized a luncheon in his honor. That night 800 of the country's foremost artists and intellectuals rallied in the Casa Grande theater, where they charged him with the mandate "to drive our society to democratization." Two days later in Brasilia, at a conference of the National Confederation of Industrial Workers, he met with leaders of 120 labor unions representing 20 million workers. In return for labor's promise to maintain stability during his initial six months in office (so that he can "get his house in order"), he vowed not to extract further sacrifices from the workers. This declaration was greeted by a standing ovation and chants of "*Presidente, Presidente!*"

Obstacles ahead.

Neves will begin his presidency hindered substantially by a 1985 budget that reflects the present government's priorities. International Monetary Fund accords, which designate payment schedule commitments, will bind him to the military regime's fiscal agreements while he is trying to carry out his own policies.

With these constraints in mind he has offered a plan "to alleviate the pressure under which we are living." At an August press conference, he promised to create a special credit line for the agricultural sector. He will also revise homeowner payment schedules to the government-owned Banco Nacional de Habitacao (National Bank for Housing). Roughly 40 percent of the population is hooked into this payment system, in which adjustments are

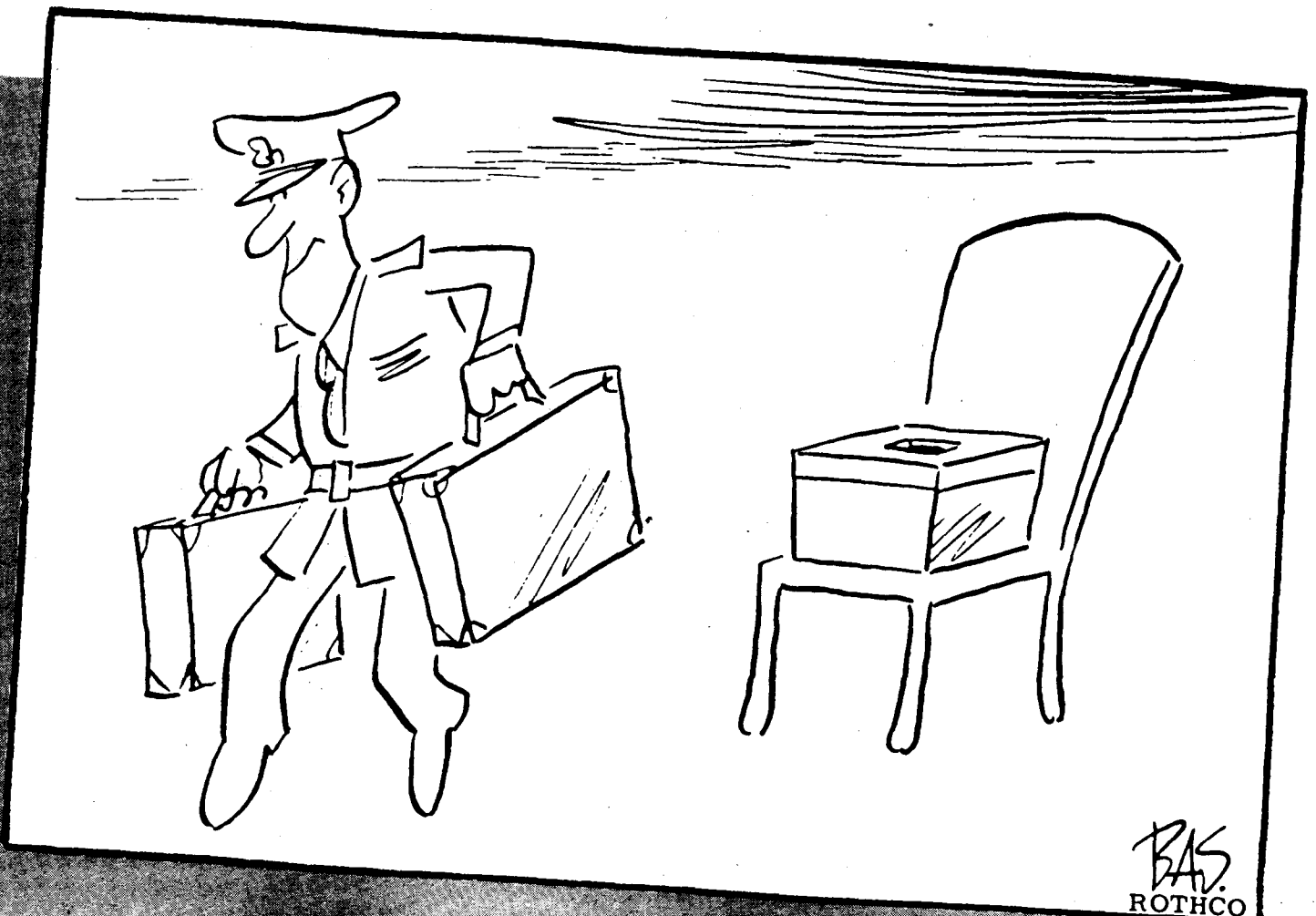
pegged to inflation so that repayment increases at a faster rate than salary adjustments are granted. Currently, there are 230,000 legal actions by harassed payees against the National Bank of Housing. Though Neves will not say how he will deal with this problem, he does claim it will be a priority.

Looking beyond his emergency plans, Neves faces the task of reactivating the economy and cutting inflation and unemployment. The key to achieving these goals is to renegotiate the foreign debt. Brazil has about 800 creditors to whom it owes almost \$100 billion. Neves says, "Each one has to be renegotiated individually, not in a block," and it must be paid without "offending our national sovereignty or pushing us above our capacity to pay."

What course will Neves follow? The example he cites is England after World War II. The English repayed their debt by allocating an estimated 20 percent of their export earnings for that purpose. In the Brazilian case, he says, "it could be 10 percent or it could be 20 percent—let's see what our capacity is." Almost all the export revenues are now going into debt repayment. But a good portion of export revenues are needed to fuel internal development.

A popular Brazilian adage says that politics is like a cloud and nothing in politics stands still or retains any given form. Neves understands this well. He knows that in order to insure a smooth transition he cannot rely on popularity alone but must establish a functional dialog with the outgoing president. History has taught him not to underestimate the power of the military and that for a new democracy to survive stability is a prerequisite.

Berta Sichel is a Brazilian journalist who lives in New York. Joan Guimmo is a documentary video maker. They recently interviewed Tancredo Neves.



Chile

Continued from page 8

label Communist or Marxist for the poor neighborhoods. "The Chilean people are asking for the same things people here in the U.S. ask for—jobs, freedom and justice," she said. "People here are not called 'Communist' for wanting these things."

Manriquez, the mother of two, invited us to her home in Kansas City, where we interviewed several exiled Chileans. All had suffered physical and psychological torture under Pinochet.

"They would handcuff us to a military cot," said Francisco Gonzalez of the torture nicknamed "la parrilla" or "the grill," "and then they would put electric current to the most sensitive parts of our bodies." Gonzalez, a former union organizer and coalminer, was also forced to sign his own death certificate, given a chance to speak his final words and then brought before a firing squad to be executed with "false bullets."

Luis Rameriz, at one time general secretary of the National Teachers Union, still wears the scars of his torture. He and his brother were both kidnapped by the Chilean secret police. Only Luis survived. He remains a staunch believer in democracy, which in Chile is a historical habit. "When you believe in something, that belief helps you a lot, and then it is like you

are born again." Rameriz is on a list of 5,000 people who have been forbidden to return to Chile by Pinochet.

Newly exiled is the Vicar of Solidarity Father Ignacio Gutierrez, head of the Roman Catholic Church's human rights organization in Santiago. The fact that Gutierrez was refused re-entry into the country recently after interviewing exiles abroad does not bode well for the human rights situation.

Since the General's latest crackdown began, 19,000 people have been picked up in neighborhood sweeps. Most are held in converted soccer stadiums, where they wait in long lines to be searched and have their IDs checked. Those who have police records are detained, even if they were never convicted of a crime. The rest, who will have police records as a result of the raid, are let go.

More than 1,000 of those arrested remain in police custody. The majority have been sent into internal exile to a remote village either in the frigid south of the country, near Antarctica, or in the desert of the extreme north. Most of those taken recently are in Pisagua, a specially erected tent city in the desolate north. Neier, himself once a prisoner of the Nazis, describes the place as an extremely hot "concentration camp-like facility."

Since November 6 approximately 400 of those detained have "disappeared" into the custody of the secret police (CNI). According to Amnesty International, Provisional Article 24 of the Chilean constitution permits the CNI to hold prison-

ers incommunicado for 20 days to five years during a state of emergency, and indefinitely during a state of seige. The secret police use this time, when the prisoner is constitutionally deprived of all rights, to elicit confessions and information through torture, including electric shock and suffocation. These forced confessions are broadcast on national television and later used in court if the prisoner is turned over to the judicial system.

Neier says that since 1973 there has been "no moment when the government has not used torture against the political opposition." Since Pinochet's bloody overthrow of President Salvador Allende, as many as 30,000 Chileans have been murdered and many more tortured by government forces.

Pinochet has attempted to justify his excesses by conveying the image that the Soviets are funding an extensive underground network of guerrilla-terrorists. He hopes this image will maintain the allegiance of the middle class and the continued support of the U.S.

But in fact, only a handful of deaths have been attributed to the left and proof of a Soviet presence is scant. "There is widespread suspicion in Chile," says Aryeh Neier, "that the government itself has been responsible for a fair amount, although by no means all, of the [apparent left-wing] terrorist activity." There was one clear-cut case of this in Punta Arenas, when a bomb exploded in the arms of a police lieutenant who was carrying it into a church.

This fall, when a newspaper printed a

photograph of plainclothed military men shooting at unarmed citizens, Pinochet decreed a ban on graphic images. Black rectangles with captions began appearing where photographs of soccer games, art exhibits and street violence had previously been shown. "The dictator controls reality," Ariel Dorfman told an audience of American writers, "by controlling the image of reality. As he cannot suppress the event, he banishes its visual echo."

Under the state of seige most newspapers have been shut down and Lavandero and other Chilean journalists have been imprisoned. Press censorship is nearly complete. To report the news as it happens in Chile, without prior consent from the government, is now an act of treason.

The North American connection.

General elections in Chile are set for 1989, but when Pinochet declares that "democracy is the breeding ground of Communism," many people question whether he will ever submit his power to the test of the ballot. Rep. William B. Richardson (D-NM) met with Pinochet on December 14. Richardson was left with the impression that the dictator has every intention of renewing the state of seige when the first 90-day period expires on February 4. The only person who could influence Pinochet to soften his course, Richardson believes, is Ronald Reagan.

Up until now, the Reagan administration has maintained a warm relationship with the military government in Chile. United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick has embraced General Pinochet from the beginning of her tenure. Since the state of seige was declared, the Reagan administration has expressed mild disappointment with Pinochet. But no more than a mumble was heard when the United Press International bureau chief in Santiago, Anthony Boodle, was arrested and forced out of the country, and his photographer, Jose Arguto, was kicked in the knees and his film seized by the military. And when it came to the renewal of crucial loans of hundreds of millions of dollars to Chile by the Inter-American Development Bank in late November, the U.S. was present and ready to sign. ■
Dennis Bernstein and Connie Blitt's articles have appeared in Newsday, The Progressive and Commonweal.

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By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

THE GERMAN GREEN PARTY REFUSED to be stampeded into a premature decision on the question of an eventual coalition with the Social Democrats at its convention in Hamburg in early December. A big question mark in German politics is whether a "red-green" alliance of Social Democrats and Greens might emerge to form a parliamentary majority in 1987. The media have been pressuring the Greens to decide this question well in advance of the election, playing up opposition between "realists" who favor coalition and "fundamentalists" who are against it. The media have sided with their favorite "*realos*," Bundestag members Otto Schily and Joschka Fischer, the better to ridicule the "*fundis*."

The 800 delegates in Hamburg rejected such polarization and chose to keep pondering. A final resolution concluded that there was "no present need to decide" and that eventual coalition with the SPD should be discussed in advance of the next Bundestag elections two years hence.

The issue is more complex than it may appear from afar. And there is good reason to question the political wisdom of the media's preference for Green "realists."

Although replaced by a women's collective as speaker for the Bundestag fraction, Otto Schily continues to be interviewed regularly, airing his views on the need for realism. He thus risks isolation from the rest of the Greens.

Always neatly dressed, complete with necktie, Schily comes over more as a conventional radical than a typical Green. One of the Greens' few lawyers, he daringly defended Baader-Meinhof Red Army Faction members in the '70s. His questioning has played a decisive role in bringing out the truth in the Bundestag investigation of the huge secret payments lavished on Bonn politicians by the powerful Flick holding company. Schily feels, probably rightly, that no one will be able to carry on his work properly if the Greens go ahead with their plan to rotate him and the current crop of elected representatives out of the Bundestag in March.

The other star "realist," Joschka Fischer, belongs to a circle of Frankfurt anarcho-Greens who seem to think it would be a gas to be cabinet minister, so why not? The "realists," in short, are open to the accusation, justified or not, of seeking personal power.

But the advocates of coalition with the SPD stress a major political concern: the need to head off an eventual "grand coalition" of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in case neither the conservative parties nor the SPD should win a majority in 1987—a possibility that now seems likely. In that case, the SPD would have a choice between allying with the Greens or with the Christian Democrats. The "realists" argue that the Greens must try to make a red-green alliance seem reasonable, strengthening the hand of the left wing of the SPD favorable to such a coalition. Otherwise, West Germany risks being governed by an alliance that would pull the SPD to the right, stifle debate and marginalize, if not eliminate, real opposition.

The "grand coalition" is a real danger. It may happen no matter what position the Greens finally take on coalition. It is noteworthy that the media are not putting the same pressure on the SPD as on the Greens to come out officially in favor of a red-green alliance. Indeed, the SPD leadership wants to win an absolute majority in 1987 and govern without the Greens, or anyone else.

Especially in the state of Hesse, the Greens' decision to "tolerate" (support without joining) an SPD government has been put to a rude test by the state Prime Minister Holger Börner. Börner's government virtually forced the Greens to withdraw their support on November 19 by refusing to block plans to extend plutonium production, the basis of nuclear arms proliferation. Now Börner is threatening

WEST GERMANY

Greens are indecisive about allying with Social Democrats

to cut all ecological measures if the Greens fail to support his entire state budget.

The fundamentalist argument.

Thus the main policy paper by Rainer Trampert and Rudolf Bahro presenting the "fundamentalist" position to the Hamburg meeting argued that the Greens' experience in Hesse spoke against "tolerance" of an SPD government, much less coalition. They also argued: "Precisely the consistent alternative to all the other parties has led to our remarkable electoral success."

The Trampert-Bahro paper pointed to the "danger that the Greens, with a policy of 'together against the right,' would loudly rejoice over the SPD's trifling concessions that do nothing to alter its basic course, and would thereby contribute to fixing up the SPD image badly damaged by 16 years in office. Alliance agreements show that we do not change the SPD, but that the SPD uses our votes for its own policy. We don't need another 'lesser evil' in this country."

The "fundamentalists" accused the "realists" of "a wholly idealistic notion of the real relationship of forces in this country." This notion tries to focus Green politics more and more on government institutions and elective office. But "real development is still determined by industry, the banks and the NATO-military-nuclear lobby," argued Trampert-Bahro. "That demands greater efforts from us to strengthen social movements so that this relationship of forces will change in the foundations of society."

They acknowledged, however, that many Green voters could envisage cooperation with the SPD. "We are not dogmatic," they concluded. "Should it to our surprise turn out that there really is an old-established party that, under pressure of changes in public awareness, is ready in actual fact to change course and decide on clear steps in the direction we indicate, we will not hold back."

The fundamentalists think this unlikely, because the SPD is, they say, much more committed than people realize to the forms of industrial development that inevitably produce environmental destruction, the arms race and the ruin of the Third World.

Trampert recently published a book, *Die Zukunft der Grünen* (The Future of the Greens), along with Thomas Ebermann, another member of the influential "Hamburg group" that came to the Green Party out of an experience of Marxism-Leninism. In it they urge that the definition of "needs" imposed by consumer society must be altered through realization that this system does not allow for complete human happiness, that there can be another, happier sort of work "beyond the logic of capitalism or of the real socialism prevailing in Eastern Europe."

Within the Greens the "realists" favor coalition and the "fundamentalists" are against it.

Observers were impressed by the political maturity of the Green delegates, noting their close attention to the merits of issues raised and how they did not let



Rainer Trampert is a "fundamentalist" Green who argued against tolerance of the SPD, much less coalition.

themselves be swayed by personal factors. This, at least, might be concluded from the fact that a majority favorably received the Trampert-Bahro paper, despite the disastrously negative effect produced by Bahro's opening speech to the convention.

Bahro himself remarked that his speech was probably his "political suicide" among the Greens. Since being booted out of East Germany in 1976 for his book *The Alternative*, Bahro has evolved rapidly from a Eurocommunist critic of the Soviet system into an increasingly mystical visionary, especially since his visit a few months ago to the guru Baghwan in Oregon.

Contrary to his intent, Bahro's swan song may have served to restrain the visionary and apocalyptic tendencies among the Greens by showing where they may lead. Bahro's hostility to the SPD increasingly resembles that of the Reformation preacher Thomas Muntzer who roused the German peasantry into the "peasants' war" against Martin Luther and the princes. In Hamburg, Bahro explicitly called on the Greens to be "Muntzerish," although non-violent.

Pointing to the dying forest, dioxin and an array of ecological disasters, Bahro said that the population "is beginning to grasp that in the daily horror reports in reality a single total catastrophe is being heralded." He called for a new kind of general strike against research, development and production to head off the impending apocalypse. The Greens, he argued, must not abandon the people by going off and joining the other political parties in sharing "responsibility for the death spiral."

Declaring that "the fundamentalists are rooted in another reality," Bahro concluded that "the race with the Apocalypse can be won only when this becomes

a great age of faith, a Pentecost with the living Spirit...." Bahro was near collapse at the end of his oration. Consternation reigned in the convention hall.

The passage in Bahro's speech that most horrified his listeners was a confused comparison of the Greens' possible "co-optation" to the rise of the Nazis. This set off a long chorus of boos and catcalls. August Haussleiter, the oldest of the Green Party's founders, accused Bahro of "the worst perversion of history." He stressed that the Nazi movement wanted to reverse the results of World War I, whereas the Greens were the radical democratic answer to any revival of militarism.

The Greens' elder statesman got the most applause of the convention with his defense of the Trampert-Bahro paper that seemed best to sum up the consensus in the party. The SPD in office, he said, honored the chemical companies as job-givers, let Flick take an 800 million mark tax cut while cutting back social benefits supposedly for lack of funds and finally was at the origin of the NATO decision to station Pershing II and cruise missiles in Germany. Nevertheless, the Greens should not distance themselves from the SPD in a sectarian manner.

"If the SPD is ready in 1987 to withdraw the missiles, then I too will become a realist!" Haussleiter said. But for that to happen, the Greens must get from 15 to 20 percent of the vote. "Therefore, let us emphasize our own position and not acclimate ourselves to the position of others."

Even some "realists" concluded it would not be altogether realistic to reduce their bargaining power in advance by announcing their eagerness for coalition before the SPD has offered any programmatic concessions in return for Green support.

The Art from

By John S. Friedman

THE CURRENT TREND TOWARD political themes in art recalls an era when art was even more politically controversial, so much so that public pressure effectively closed a major exhibition. This was at the end of the '40s when friendships and professional associations led to an unlikely—and often bizarre—cooperation between the CIA and New York's Museum of Modern Art.

Although several articles in art journals have hinted at this connection, information revealed here for the first time details this unholy alliance.

In 1947, the U.S. State Department closed down an exhibit, *Advancing American Art*, because it was attacked by right-wing groups, Congress and the press as being "unAmerican" and "radical." Mississippi Congressman John Rankin called the paintings "Communist caricatures...sent out to mislead the rest of the world as to what America is like."

Confronted with such criticism in the Cold War climate of the late '40s, the State Department, in an unprecedented act, canceled the exhibit while it was still overseas—even though the show had received rave reviews from art critics. Most of the paintings from the original show—including works by Georgia O'Keeffe, Ben Shahn and Robert Motherwell—were recently exhibited at several museums, among which was the National Museum of American Art in Washington, D.C.; and will travel in October to the Terra

Museum of American Art, Evanston, Ill.

Cancellation of the 1947 show was not enough to mollify congressional critics in the late '40s and early '50s, who redirected their attack to modern art itself. Michigan Congressman George Dondero stated that "Modern art is Communistic because it is distorted and ugly, because it does not glorify our beautiful country.... Art which does not glorify our beautiful country in plain, simple terms that everyone can understand breeds dissatisfaction. It is therefore opposed to our government, and those who create and promote it are our enemies."

On the other hand, many government officials believed that the arts could be an important part of the international battle for people's minds in the "Cultural Cold War." Reluctant to publicly support art shows because of their congressional opposition, but still eager to export American works, the government resolved the dilemma by secretly turning to the CIA for assistance. In turn, the CIA turned to the nation's preeminent museum of contemporary art, the Museum of Modern Art.

The arts community understandably resents any political interference by the government, and knowing that the nation's spy agency meddled would likely raise hackles even years after the fact. (Of course, CIA financial assistance in no way reflects on the quality or merit of the art that was sponsored.) The extent of the agency's involvement in the '50s is particularly important at this juncture—when the CIA has been given wider powers and increased funds by the Reagan administration.

The Rockefeller connection.

Several bridges connected the Museum of Modern Art to the CIA and the government. One was Nelson Rockefeller. After becoming president of the museum in 1939, Rockefeller continued to dominate it through the '40s and '50s.

In 1940, briefly vacating MOMA's presidency, he directed the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, an agency that, among other activities, sponsored overseas art shows. MOMA became a contractor for this office, and, according to writer Eva Cockcroft in *Artforum* (June 1974), put together "19 exhibitions of contemporary American painting which were shipped around Latin America."

After serving in other government positions, in 1954 Rockefeller became a special assistant to President Eisenhower for Cold War planning, a position, according to investigative reporter Seymour Hersh, that involved the monitoring and approval of covert CIA operations.

Another bridge between MOMA and

the CIA was Tom Braden, the museum's executive secretary in 1949. From 1951 to 1954, he organized and directed the CIA's international organizations division, "of which," he confirmed in a recent interview, "cultural activities were one part."

A third bridge was John Hay Whitney, a long-time trustee of MOMA, who served as its president and chairman of the board. He had been in the Office of Strategic Services, the wartime precursor of the CIA. According to David Wise and Thomas B. Ross in their book, *The Espionage Establishment*, the Whitney Trust, which he had founded, was a CIA conduit and, according to the *New York Times* (Dec. 26, 1977), the "CIA-owned" news service Forum World Features "was ostensibly owned during much of its life by John Hay Whitney."

Braden, now a syndicated columnist and radio and TV personality, also suggested that Whitney may have persuaded Allen Dulles, CIA director in the '50s, to fund cultural programs, though he could not remember any art exhibits being sponsored by the CIA. But, in fact, the CIA did sponsor at least two art shows through a front organization: the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Not until 1967 was the congress exposed by the *New York Times* and other publications as a CIA front.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom was founded in 1950 in response to a conference of Soviet writers in Berlin. As the composer Nicolas Nabokov, who became the first head of the congress, writes in his memoirs, the organization was set up "to mobilize intellectuals and artists on a worldwide scale in order to fight an ideological war...." Nabokov, who denied that he knew at the time the CIA was providing money to the congress, later wrote in his memoirs: "Not in my wildest dreams could I have expected that my 'dream festival' would be supported by America's spying establishment, nor did I know that the fare for my delightful first-class flight to Paris was being paid by the CIA.... And soon, very soon, that same spy mill

of the Art establishing 'passing' for such groups...tee...."

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A CIA front

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His exhibition and works of Soviet views. "Though for the many fine work," wrote a 1952, "one cannot out a faint sense should now be considered to novelty.

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WHAT CAME IN the COLD WAR

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show of *Young* after World War I, S. Richard Dieben- mos, Irving Kries-

berg, Seymour Drumlevitch, Joseph Glasco and John Hultberg. Included were Drumlevitch's series of squares and rectangles, *Roman Aqueduct*, and Kriesberg's *Red Sheep*. The jury awarded a prize to Hultberg for his somber works *Night Fantasy*, *Winter* and *Silhouette*.

The show received generally favorable comment. Dore Ashton, writing in *Art Digest*, called it "a step in the direction of a truly free flow of art; above all, art by many artists, not just those shoved back and forth across the ocean by enterprising dealers." Critic Milton Gendel, writing in *Art News*, praised "the excellent job done by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. In encouraging the young and unknown, the events and activities sponsored by the Congress fill a specific need." Gendel also noted: "The Congress receives much of its support from the Fairfield Foundation." Later, in the mid-'60s, the Fairfield Foundation was identified by the press as a CIA conduit.

After opening at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome, the exhibit moved to the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels and the Musee National d'Art Moderne in Paris.

The CIA's own media network did its part in amplifying the show's influence. *Preuves*, a highly respected French journal, devoted about half of its October 1956 issue to the exhibit and to the subject of young artists.

Both *Preuves* and its British counterpart, *Encounter*, were financially supported by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Included in the issue were 40 pages of responses to a questionnaire the magazine had sent to 80 young painters in Europe and the U.S., including all artists in the exhibit.

The questionnaire was an attempt to learn what major influences affected young artists of the time. Questions focused on whether they followed theories of art or any economic or social theories (such as Marxism). In their responses, several artists included their personal manifestos.

The published, excerpted responses were generally apolitical as the artists stressed psychological and aesthetic rath-

er than political concerns. *Preuves* emphasized that Abstract Expressionism was the aesthetic vanguard and that Americans were its leaders.

In a *Preuves* article on young painters, Cranston Jones, then a staff writer for *Time* magazine, made such an observation, and in a paean to the movement he praised not only Abstract Expressionist artists such as Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko and Robert Motherwell, but also critics, galleries and museums that promoted the movement. He concluded by saying that Abstract Expressionism "is proof that the United States has finally assimilated multinational cultural influences and is beginning to establish its very own culture...." (Translated from the original French.)

Cultural Cold War.

These remarks reflect the goals of the CIA's cultural activities, which Braden said were "to demonstrate the authority of free institutions in the arts and to show that America was not—as the Communists were describing us—a cultural desert."

They also are similar to the goals of MOMA's international program. Begun in 1952, "the idea behind such a program," writes Russell Lynes in *Good Old Modern*, "was to let it be known especially in Europe that America was not the cultural backwater that the Russians... were trying to demonstrate that it was."

Abstract Expressionism suited such goals of the "Cultural Cold War." As Eva Cockcroft has noted, it was the "perfect contrast to 'the regimented, traditional and narrow' nature of 'socialist realism.' It was new, fresh and creative. Artistically avant-garde and original."

Responding to political attacks against modern art, Alfred Barr Jr., for many years the guiding aesthetic force behind the Museum of Modern Art and an influential figure in the success of Abstract Expressionism, made a similar point.

In a 1952 *New York Times Magazine* article, "Is Modern Art Communistic?," he wrote: "The modern artist's nonconformity and love of freedom cannot be tolerated within a monolithic tyranny and modern art is useless for the dictator's propaganda...." Along with the article, Barr included illustrations of modern art "Hated and Feared...in Soviet Russia" and "in Nazi Germany." Also shown were works of Socialist Realism and idealized heroism "Admired and Honored" in Russia and Germany.

Barr, Ritchie and Sweeney were art experts, not politicians. But they were caught by the mood of an era, inadvertently allowing their expertise to be used for political ends. As Braden wryly noted, the CIA had nobody who knew "the difference between Socialist Realism and finger-painting."

During the same period, of course, the Museum of Modern Art sent exhibits overseas that received no financial support from the government, but at a time when the museum was a major force pushing a specific artistic movement—Abstract Expressionism—it was used by

Washington for Cold War purposes. The importance of MOMA to the movement was noted in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1959: "Abstract Expressionism radiates the world over from Manhattan Island, more specifically from West 53rd Street, where the Museum of Modern Art stands as the Parthenon on this particular acropolis."

Modernism as propaganda.

While the government was trying to censor art shows and actually cancelling support on political grounds, such as the 1956 exhibits *Sport in Art* and *100 American Artists of the Twentieth Century*, it was underwriting exhibits of modernism. Thus did the government achieve its propaganda goals.

As historian Jane De Hart Mathews has written, the "new generation of New York painters ultimately came to be regarded as the embodiment of the kind of freedom denied their colleagues behind the iron curtain, their works celebrated as quintessentially American. So rapid and complete was this identification that by the mid-'60s modern art itself had somehow become inextricably linked with the U.S. as if only in America could the avant-garde 'spirit' truly flourish."

According to files of MOMA's international program, government-assisted exhibits in the '50s included *U.S. Selections for Berlin Trade Fair, 1953*, assembled for the Mutual Security Agency, which at one time supplied military, economic and technical assistance abroad; *U.S. Representation: International Foster Exhibition, 1954*, assembled at the request of the U.S. Information Agency; and *Built in U.S.A.: Postwar Architecture, 1956*, commissioned for exhibit in Italy and elsewhere by the USIA.

The propaganda success of the last show was astounding. The total attendance of *Built in U.S.A.* when it was sent to Rumania was 420,000 people, according to the U.S. embassy official in Bucharest.

Furthermore, "almost five tons of U.S. periodicals, copies of *Art Quarterly*, *Art News*...[and other magazines] were distributed in connection with the exhibit to Rumanian schools, universities, institutes, clubs, factories... For the most part they were the first U.S. publications seen in this Communist country in a decade.... As such [the exhibit] contributed to making quite a chink in the Rumanian curtain," the official wrote to the director of MOMA's international program in 1958.

Through such exhibits, the government helped legitimize modernism. It is ironic that conservative political goals ultimately advanced an avant-garde art movement.

John S. Friedman is a freelance writer based in Washington and New York.

EDITORIAL

On the face of it, those in the nuclear freeze movement and those who oppose the waste of our human and industrial resources on the military should be optimistic these days. The budget crisis—with a projected 1985 deficit of more than \$200 billion and with just about all that can be cut from social services already cut—is finally leading Congress to take a serious look at arms spending. And the freeze movement has succeeded in creating a national consensus that nuclear war must be prevented, which is at least in part responsible for the renewal of arms negotiations with the Soviet Union.

But the confusion that allowed freeze backers to vote for Reagan and the inability of all but a small handful of Congress members—mostly in the Congressional Black Caucus—to call for actual reductions in total arms spending is indicative of an underlying problem. Not surprisingly, once you think about it, the problem is a major element in the crisis of liberalism, and, at root, in the crisis of socialism in the West.

The problem, of course, is the Soviet Union—or, more accurately, how to understand and come to terms with Soviet society. For socialists, and to a lesser extent for liberals, who have drawn many of their programmatic ideas from socialists, this has been a general problem of long standing. But for the freeze movement and for others with an interest in reducing spending on armaments it is a specific problem, long avoided, but more and more difficult to avoid. For whether we like it or not, massive military spending is a political possibility only when a threat to our national security is popularly perceived. And the nature of that spending—the kinds of weapon systems produced—are a function of the nature of the perceived threat.

One way of looking at it is to imagine what the problem would look like if the "enemy" we now face were not the Soviet Union but Nazi Germany of the '30s. In that circumstance many now in the freeze movement and many now pushing for better and bigger missiles might well switch sides. But in any case, the arguments and attitudes of those on both sides would be quite different. Those on the left would tend to be much more apprehensive, reluctant to cut back armaments of any kind. Those on the right would tend to see the enemy as, perhaps, a bit extreme, but overall a useful barrier against dangerous radicalism, especially in the Third World.

Facing reality.

Recognizing the ultimate futility of abstracting the issue of a nuclear freeze from the context of international politics, the freeze movement is now also taking on superpower intervention in the Third World. (*In These Times*, Dec. 19, 1984.) This is a healthy step, and one that can be discussed in large part within the context of the American role as a colonial and neo-colonial power, especially in Central America, long before there was the possibility of Soviet intervention. But even in relation to superpower intervention in the Third World, the Soviet Union cannot be overlooked, if only because the Reagan administration has argued that the revolutions in Central America are simply a means of Soviet expansion into our turf.

In our view, the Soviet Union is not an aggressive society, nor is it driven to be expansionist. It has an empire to defend on its periphery, and it assumed the role of protector of both the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, once they turned to it for support. But the Soviets see their Eastern European empire primarily in defensive terms, as a buffer against future invasions like those they have repeatedly experienced. It is, of course, true that the Soviets have traditionally believed that revolution is more or less inevitable throughout the capitalist world, but it is important to remember that none of the revolutions since 1945—the Chinese, the Cuban, the Vietnamese or the Nicaraguan—was fomented or fostered by the Soviets, not even when they were Communist-led, as in China and Vietnam.

But that doesn't mean that the Soviet Union is benign. It remains a stiflingly undemocratic society, even though it has shed much of its czarist character since the death of Josef Stalin in 1953. Its domestic forms of oppression, especially its smothering of political or cultural dissent, are well known, and its suppression of Eastern Europe, even after the demise of Stalinist terror at home, has often been brutal. And then, of course, there is Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is a good example of the political difficulties the left faces in relation to the Soviet Union. The invasion five years ago, as we argued at the time, was at best a paranoid overreaction to Chinese or American meddling and at worst a brutal invasion of another sovereign nation. We could see no security issue involved, because even though Afghanistan shares a long border with the Soviet Union, it is a mountainous country with few roads and could never serve as an invasion path. Even under conservative rule, Afghanistan had been oriented toward the Soviets, ever since the British relinquished control. But even if outside forces were active there in 1978,

it made little difference. Afghanistan would never have been a threat to Soviet security.

Toward negotiations.

Now the Soviets are bogged down in a war they can't win and they can't lose, but from which they would doubtless like to escape. The thing that is stopping them is a rebel army supplied with American arms and other aid—some \$600 million worth in the last five years, and another \$285 million proposed by Reagan this year. Even the U.S. State Department admits it's a no-win situation, and that the American goal is simply to prolong the war—in order to embarrass the Soviets. But the war should be ended, and though we're sympathetic to the rebels' desire to be free of Soviet intervention, we know the only way it will end is to stop the aid and allow the Soviets to negotiate an exit. That will probably mean a continuation of the pro-Soviet regime, at least for the present, but it's better than a continuation of the current slaughter.

Politically, however, it is extremely difficult to condemn the Soviets and at the same time call for an end to aid for the rebels. It can make sense only if the American public has a view of the Soviets as a complex society with a paranoid de-

fensiveness that, like much paranoia, has a basis in historical reality. In short, it can only happen if we begin to confront the ideology of the Cold War seriously and to take on the difficult task of educating the American public to a less caricatured view of the world. And this is precisely what the peace movement, including the freeze, as well as most of the Democratic left, has studiously avoided.

The reasons for the avoidance are easy enough to understand. We've avoided taking on this task, too. The Soviet Union is not something many of us want to defend. But that is why a Reagan can be so successful in his militarization of American society. When he calls the Soviets an evil empire, the source of evil in the modern world, some people scoff or snicker, but virtually no one challenges his view.

It's not that his view is firmly held, much less deeply felt, by the majority of the population, but that any politician opposing Reagan's policies will only push such a policy to the point where he or she comes up against the official Cold War ideology of the past four decades. Few politicians are able to take that on because there is no political or intellectual public context in which to make such a challenge. With a few exceptions—where there are sophisticated constituencies, or natural left constituencies—Congress members cannot be expected to stick their necks out too far in challenging Cold War ideology, no matter what their personal inclinations or desires. So that task is the responsibility, and the necessity, of the antiwar and antinuclear movements, and of the left in general. The need becomes more apparent with each passing day.

THE SECRET TO MY FOREIGN POLICY IS MY PAIR OF EAST-WEST GLASSES



THEIR PATENTED 2-D LENSES POLARIZE THE WORLD INTO EAST AND WEST



ANYWHERE I LOOK, I CAN SEE U.S. VITAL INTERESTS AND THE SOVIET MENACE



OF COURSE, YOU LOSE SOME OF THE DETAIL



WASSERMAN

L.A. Times Syndicate

Coming to terms with Soviet society

LIBERATION

I WAS JUST ABOUT TO LET MY SUBSCRIPTION lapse for more Canadian oriented journals when Diana Johnstone's article on liberation theology (*ITT*, Nov. 21) arrived. Absolutely brilliant. Any paper that prints articles like this deserves to be supported. Find enclosed my check for renewal. Shalom.

—Ted Schmidt
Scarborough, Ontario

EVALUATION

IT IS PUZZLING THAT MANY PEOPLE like Norton Wheeler (*Letters*, *ITT*, Dec. 12) think there is no great harm in the use of tobacco. Montaigne observed that there is no medical opinion or practice not considered nonsense by some medical expert. But no degree is needed to know that smoke is not what the lungs are supposed to handle. They work best with clean air.

There are two differences between smoking and being a victim of involuntary smoke inhalation. Manufacturers of smoking tobacco do everything they can to make their products as pleasant to take as possible. And people who smoke may do so or not, as they are moved. They control the amount of relief they want and need from the smoke they inhale. This is the only thing that prevents their smoking from killing them sooner. Some heavy smokers live to advanced age, a fact that would be of interest chiefly to the majority of heavy smokers who were less fortunate.

Wheeler says that individuals can evaluate the risks of smoking. Surely, he overlooks the fact that nearly all smokers start at an age when evaluation is a word they can hardly spell. In the case of the older smokers, there was nothing to evaluate. Your mother, if a non-smoker, knew that smoking was no good for you, but she could not give valid reasons why. These reasons are all relatively recent knowledge. Even now, the young are likely just to follow examples.

—R.J. McCurdy
Upper Darby, Pa.

NO DRIVING SECTIONS?

I WAIT BREATHLESSLY FOR THE DAY these tobacco phobics realize the exhaust from the automobile is more deadly than cigarette smoke. How many of the above do you think would stop driving cars to protect my health, no less the health of our fragile environment?

—Denise D'Anne
San Francisco

EASIER SAID THAN DONE

RE: THE TOBACCO AD CONTROVERSY. The paper needs the money. Why not General Motors ads and Johnny Walker ads too? But let *ITT* explain that their financial priorities dictate the monetary necessity. In this society there is no getting around having to pay the bills.

Conversion is the issue. In the tobacco industry, like the nuclear industry, we need to convert to useful, healthful production. No one wants the loss of jobs. But we need *ITT*, where the problems of conversion can be discussed.

—Esther Eyer
Philadelphia

WHAT DO WE WANT?

I NEVER WOULD HAVE BELIEVED THAT the controversy over your pro-tobacco advertisement could last so long. Even though I am active in the anti-smoking effort, I see nothing wrong with your pro-tobacco advertisement.

In *These Times* is "an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popu-

lar movement for socialism in the United States." The message expressed by the tobacco ad was not inconsistent with *ITT*'s fundamental purpose; in fact, it was well within the parameters of *ITT*'s philosophical scope. The tobacco workers' implicit point, that people stopping smoking will cost them their jobs, and that they have been shoulder-to-shoulder with the rest of us in the union movement in the great causes of the past and present, are legitimate points worthy of consideration. The presentation of these ideas, and the ideas themselves are compatible with a pluralistic socialism—indeed, the ad represents a "pro-smoking argument presented from a socialistic perspective."

The presentation of unpopular ideas is one of the things that a free press and a democratic polity are all about. Free access to the print media is about the only way certain unpopular ideas have to be brought directly to the public. Do we want to take this avenue away from people? What if it were taken away from us? Smoking is a lot less unpopular in the U.S. than socialism. Do we want *ITT* to be a politically meaningless but "Simon-pure" utopian journal, or are we willing to accept its "accommodation with the power structure" accomplished without compromising its fundamental principles.

The danger in running such ads is that *ITT* will become dependent on tobacco advertising revenues enough that it backs off from publishing news or opinion pieces that are anti-smoking, as other magazines are alleged to have done.

For that not to happen we have to trust in the editorial vigilance of *ITT*'s editorial staff. If we detect that advertising revenues are starting to influence *ITT*'s editorial policies, then is the time to scream, and I will be screaming as loudly as those who have protested the tobacco ad.

—Dino Joseph Drudi
Washington

ENOUGH ALREADY!

I AM NEITHER JEWISH NOR ZIONIST. I think that the Jewish state is a mistake, but that the state of Israel is not.

Isn't it time we move beyond these re-re-recriminations and toward some sort of unified field theory?

—Jeffery Brown
Watertown, Mass.

NOT TOLERATED?

I'M SICK OF YOUR BULLSHIT ABOUT the national presidential elections. We lost because of our morally illiterate political concepts. The two most unpopular movements in America, the women's movement and the unions, took sides with each other, compelling everybody else to take sides against them. Reagan easily wooed the religious conservatives on the left with his moral declarations. Realistically most people don't understand the economics behind the bread-and-butter issues and are easier moved by their own moral considerations about life than any other consideration. Let us not forget that we are a Judeo-Christian society no matter how adroitly the left tries to ignore this fact.

If we were going to move the Judeo-Christian society toward socialism we would have to convince them that "God" approves of socialism. We who harbor socialist beliefs in our Judeo-Christian activism believe this. This is not tolerated by the morally illiterate stupidity behind the nihilist comedic socialist consideration. We of the religious conservative left are systematically denied our entrance into the forum of the political left. Then we are expected to support just plain socialism. It is ridiculous for you to expect us to believe in you when you do not believe in us. Yet you do this. Everybody on the left is not a liberal, so stop bullshitting us with your so-called statistics.

The political left has their head stuck squarely in their ass. My political de-

LETTERS

cision to support the "vehicle" of socialism hinges entirely on my belief that no other form of government allows me honestly and with good conscience to embrace those tenets of Christianity that allow me my just defense of the poor, which is a major religious obligation for every single Christian in America and around the world. Socialism is so caught up in their own stupid brand of morality that they cannot see the political muscle that is very staunchly conservative and religious on the left.

Christian Marxists don't side with Marxism because they believe Marxism is superior to a belief in God. Christian Marxists side with Jesus against a love of money that ultimately cheats poor people everywhere, in direct accord with those very teachings that Jesus gave them.

—Aaron M. Farris
Dayton, Ohio

OMITTING THE THINKABLE

I WAS ANGERED TO SEE THE ONLY SIGNificant criticism and suggestion in my letter (*ITT*, Dec. 12) regarding *ITT*'s coverage of Israel/Palestine cut out despite having stayed well within your 250-word guideline. Lest it be thought that *ITT* edits out harsh criticism, here's what didn't appear:

"My own suggestion would be to have a progressive Palestinian write about Israel/Palestine, after all, who's under occupation? Or is the thought of having an Arab write about the Palestinian struggle unthinkable...."

What do the readers of *ITT* think?

—David Millstein
San Francisco

Editor's note: We didn't consider the above harsh criticism, which in any case we thrive on. We considered it a suggestion for the editors. The thought is very thinkable, and even a good idea, in our opinion.

STOP PAYING FOR WAR

YOUR "IN SHORT" ARTICLE "IRS MANeuvers" (*ITT*, Nov. 14) on the unsuccessful IRS effort to auction the home of a Chicago war tax resister reminds us that government crackdowns against protest often strengthen move-

ments for social and political change.

The war tax resistance movement is growing despite government efforts to slow us by financial penalties and property seizures. In recent months, war tax resisters in Washington, Kentucky, Georgia, Colorado and Illinois have maintained strong positions against contributing their taxes to the military and have gained publicity and support for their opposition to the U.S. war policy.

War tax resistance provides many opportunities for protest. Most do not require a willingness to battle the IRS over possession of your home. Many people are drawing their line with the government by refusing to pay the 3 percent federal excise tax on telephone service or by planning to refuse a symbolic amount (\$10, for example; or 1 percent, the amount of federal income spent on nuclear weapons) when they file their tax forms next April.

We encourage people to learn about war tax resistance by contacting NWT-RCC at P.O. Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772.

—Larry Bassett
National War Tax Resistance
Coordinating Committee
East Patchogue, N.Y.

BOOK POWER

NO MATTER HOW MUCH THE POPE may bleat about it, no one has been able to prove that such a thing as god exists, although many people, better educated than he, have tried to do it.

This fellow would be better off were he to spend more time in the library, and less in attacking his intellectual betters, the atheists.

—Dennis K. McDaniel
Beaumont, Texas

FANCIFUL

AS K. KAUFMANN (*ITT*, DEC. 5) WRITES for a feminist magazine like *Spare Rib*, it's too bad she didn't ask Ms. Politi more about her views about the "Arabic culture which I liked very much."

I haven't heard of any Arab groups supporting feminist values.

The Arabs who espouse socialism have some pretty fanciful ways of showing their political philosophy, as well.

—George Goldberg
Toronto

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PERSPECTIVES

How the vote broke down in Nicaragua

By William Gasperini
& Jeffrey Gould

SURE THE POLITICIANS CAME around. Some said agrarian reform was a farce...that we didn't own the land...that the Sandinistas owned it and were simply the new *patrones*.... Then the Communists came and told us the Sandinistas were making us into bourgeois peasants, dividing us from our brother farmworkers so we couldn't make a real socialist revolution. But we all voted for the *Frente Sandinista* because that is how we overcame the 'days of the rich.'"

Ramon Tellez, ex-cotton picker and current member of a 1,500-acre cotton cooperative, thus summarized the recent election campaign in Nicaragua. Tellez lives near Chichigalpa, a town of 25,000 on the western plains between a volcanic mountain range and the Pacific Ocean. He tells how in the '70s the Sandinista Front (FSLN) helped cotton pickers fight for land ownership, and then after the revolution guaranteed them credit, machinery, schools and medical assistance. The vast majority of the 1,000 families belonging to cooperatives near Chichigalpa see the Sandinistas as having fought and died to support them, and they reciprocated by giving the Sandinistas more than 80 percent of their votes on November 4.

The rest of the rural population in the area, slightly more than half, did not participate in fights over land during the '70s. These families own small farms or work on large private farms, and have benefited from the revolution only through projects such as health clinics or schools. Many blame the Sandinistas for economic problems, food rationing and the military draft. Thus despite the strong support for the FSLN on cooperatives, the Sandinista vote among rural families as a whole was only 62.5 percent.

In the town of Chichigalpa the FSLN won a similar percentage, 64.5 percent. Small merchants, artisans and urban professionals complain about the lack of materials, spare parts and work opportunities they attribute to a war economy worsened by government policies.

Half of all adults in Chichigalpa work for the largest sugar refinery in Central America, the privately owned Ingenio San Antonio (which also produces Nicaragua's best rum, Flor de Cana). They speak of improved labor relations and gains made since 1979, key factors in the 80 percent vote they gave the FSLN. Ironically, this vote came the same year these workers struck for better wages against the will of the dominant government-backed union. (See *In These Times*, Nov. 14.)

"The strikes were strictly for more money, not against the *Frente*," according to one worker. "The FSLN has helped us move forward." Others spoke of how negotiations resolved the disputes, in stark contrast to the violent means of meeting worker demands under the Somoza regime.

Chichigalpa presents in microcosm the results of Nicaragua's recent elections for president, vice-president and a 96-seat National Assembly. Most observers attribute the 75 percent FSLN vote in the region to the high organization of laborers in concentrated industries. Families newly organized into cooperatives and former migrant laborers, now settled and feeling more secure than ever, also form the FSLN's base in the area.

Nationally, the FSLN won 61 of the 96 Assembly seats, and current government leader Daniel Ortega was elected president with 63 percent. With a Sandinista victory assured, most awaited the results of opposition parties to gain a sense of where the electorate's inclinations lie. Three centrist parties (the Liberal Independents [PLI], the Conservative Democrats [PCD] and the Popular Social Christians [PPSC]) together won 29 percent of the vote. With almost one-third of the electorate, they will present formidable opposition to the FSLN in the Assembly. Three left-wing parties shared a mere 3.5 percent of the vote.

During the election campaign the FSLN acknowledged the difficulties Nicaragua faces but made no promises that the government had the power to "make things right."

The opposition parties, on the other hand, strongly criticized the "incumbent" government, without presenting concrete proposals of their own. Campaign advertising relied heavily on television and radio, focused on urban areas. Persons in remote rural communities had little contact with the opposition parties, a factor weighing in the FSLN's favor as the most visible political force.

Yet other factors also influenced the outcome of the elections. In Chinandega province where Chichigalpa is located, the PLI polled second behind the FSLN with 11.9 percent. Local observers attribute this in part to the region's traditional role as the base of the old Liberal Party of Nicaragua.

Nationally the PLI polled 9 percent, a figure some party leaders say resulted from the last-minute confusion over the party's participation in the elections. Presidential candidate Virgilio Godoy withdrew his candidacy two weeks before November 4 after a party convention voted to abstain from the election. Godoy said conditions in the campaign favored the FSLN.

Other PLI leaders challenged the decision, including vice-presidential candidate Constantino Pereira. He urged voters to ignore Godoy's call for abstention, as did PLI leaders outside of Managua.

"Our party would easily have polled second were it not for the last-minute confusion," Pereira said in an interview. "Many voters went out that morning not really knowing what to do. Still, I am pleased many voters answered my call to vote."

Except in the western provinces, the Conservative Democrats (PCD) came in second with an overall total of 13.06 percent. The PCD was most critical of the Sandinistas during the election campaign, perhaps best capturing the degree of frustration many Nicaraguans feel over the economic and military situation. The party may also have received some votes that would have gone to the right-wing Coordinadora, a group of political parties and business organizations that boycotted the elections.

The PCD's strength also derives from the traditional base of the extinct Conservative Party of Nicaragua, centered in the lakeside city of Granada south of Managua. Granada is the center of cattle-ranching interests in the central provinces. PCD presidential candidate Clemente Guido successfully molded the party's image of strong opposition to those in power; the Conservatives were long the most visible group opposing the Somoza-controlled Liberal Party.

In the less populous and more scattered central provinces of Boaco, Chontales, Matagalpa and Jinotega, where the

PCD is strongest, the FSLN fared comparatively poorly, with a low of 56.15 percent of the vote. The PCD had its best showing in Boaco/Chontales with 20.13 percent.

Cattle and coffee dominate in these regions. Owner-worker relations on cattle ranches have traditionally been paternalistic and informal; typically a cattle rancher allots field workers some land for food crops in exchange for labor as ranch hands. The last five years have not substantially altered this arrangement.

Similarly cooperative agriculture and union organization have encountered serious structural obstacles in the coffee regions of Matagalpa and Jinotega. Large coffee producers traditionally allow families to grow subsistence food crops on hacienda lands in return for labor during the harvest season, or access to processing equipment for small coffee farmowners. Workers and small owners have a strong tradition of dependence on large coffee producers. Strikes and land takeovers so firmly rooted in the Leon/Chin-

radical legislation." The party severely criticized the military draft and rationing of basic goods in its campaign.

The Sandinistas polled better than expected in the vast Atlantic Coast region, where relations with the government have been strained. One state worker in Bluefields explained, "Most of the other parties never came out to campaign."

Assembly candidate Ray Hooker may also have been a factor. Hooker was kidnapped en route to a political rally September 5 and held for 55 days by *contra* forces. His release, just before the elections, followed talks between Miskito Indian leader Brooklyn Rivera and the Sandinistas. Hooker has actively championed the rights of Atlantic Coast peoples.

The fourth-place Popular Social Christian Party (PPSC) fared better than many predicted with 5.25 percent of the vote nationwide. The party, which calls for "Christians to Power," tapped sectors disaffected with the tension between church and state, the military draft and difficulties felt largely by the urban pop-

Election Results in Nicaragua



REGION	FSLN	PCD	PLI	PPSC	PSN	PCN	MAP-ML
1	66.29	7.40	10.72	3.20	0.90	1.40	1.36
2	69.03	6.17	11.91	4.67	1.05	1.46	0.81
3	62.86	14.51	7.17	6.37	1.37	1.28	0.61
4	57.17	18.20	9.02	5.53	1.74	1.20	0.82
5	56.14	20.13	6.16	5.60	1.29	1.45	1.65
6	56.73	14.42	10.29	4.79	1.36	1.71	1.60
ZE1	65.91	10.21	4.60	5.54	0.72	1.18	1.02
ZE2	57.40	8.04	13.63	3.73	1.19	1.70	1.47
ZE3	75.14	8.95	6.98	1.15	0.55	1.43	0.84
TOTAL	62.31	13.06	9.01	5.25	1.30	1.38	0.96

Percentages are of total votes cast. In each case total to 100% accounts for null or void votes.

Source: Consejo Supremo Electoral (CSE)

andega area are unknown in these central provinces.

The exception to this are coffee cooperatives on lands appropriated from the Somoza family under the agrarian reform. The FSLN's strength in the central areas derived largely from such cooperatives and from the cities of Matagalpa and Jinotega.

In Managua the Sandinistas took almost two-thirds of the vote, based on union organization and the highly visible "mass organizations" of women, youth and workers.

But the PCD also did well in Managua, which Guido attributes to disenchantment with current government policies. He says the Sandinistas now know there are limits to what they can do.

"We intend to present firm opposition to the FSLN in the Assembly," he says. "We will prevent them from passing any

ulation.

Under the electoral law, each unsuccessful presidential candidate will hold a seat in the Assembly. Small parties will enjoy proportionally higher representation due to a system of "pooling" votes on the regional level. The PCD will hold 14 seats (or 14.6 percent of the total 96) although it earned only 13.06 percent of the vote. Likewise each of the small left parties will hold two seats each (2.1 percent of the total), although each won about 1 percent of the vote.

The National Assembly will thus range from Marxist-Leninists to conservatives with a clear interest in maintaining traditional property and business relations. The FSLN enjoys a majority, but not the two-thirds some had hoped for.

"The FSLN faces strong opposition in the Assembly, most of it elected on an

Continued on page 22

By Lawrence Weschler

I WAS CLEARING OUT MY FILES on the recent elections the other morning when I came upon a striking passage in Lou Cannon's election-day interview with President Reagan in the November 7 *Washington Post*. "Today," Cannon reported, Reagan "said that he believed that the Soviets were ready to negotiate because they could no longer afford the arms race—the same view the president expressed in a campaign interview with the *Post* four years ago."

This in turn led me over to the library where, rummaging through microfilms, I indeed lighted on a June 19, 1980, *Washington Post* article headlined "Arms Boost Seen as Strain on Soviets," in which candidate Reagan claimed that "there's every indication and every reason to believe that the Soviet Union cannot increase its production of arms.... They've diverted so much to the military [already] that they can't provide for consumer needs." For this reason, Reagan argued, a rapid arms build-up by our side would force the Soviets to the bargaining table in short order. (Reading this interview, I was reminded of the more radical corollary of this thesis championed around the same time by some of Reagan's supporters, if not by himself, to the effect that should the Kremlin leaders fail to capitulate in the face of a massive defense spending onslaught by the West, they'd quickly bankrupt their own economy by trying to keep pace, thereby provoking their own precipitous downfall—a handsome outcome devoutly to be desired.) Uncannily, back in that June 1980 interview, candidate Reagan tipped his hand as to his future fiscal proclivities. According to the *Post*, "He said that if he were forced to choose between a balanced budget and one that was unbalanced because of necessary military expenditures, he would choose the latter."

Well, 1984's budget, as everyone now realizes, will indeed be unbalanced—with a vengeance. Part of the current deficit arises from the sweeping tax-cuts and the resulting revenue losses incurred during the first years of the Reagan presidency. It might charitably be argued that the jury is still out on the question of whether those cuts may eventually redeem themselves, as supply-siders insist, through an expanding economy and hence increased revenues somewhere down the line. However, the supply-side thesis may never get a fair hearing, since the budget being tested has become lopsided with almost astronomical additional funding requirements for new defense programs, requirements that will utterly skew any future evaluations of the viability of supply-side theory.

A large part—indeed, the majority—of the \$200 billion annual deficit we currently face arises from that increased defense spending. The figures in this regard are staggering. In 1976, the last year of Gerald Ford's tenure, our defense budget was \$95.6 billion (and our deficit \$66 billion). By 1980, following a steep period of inflation, President Carter's final defense budget had swollen to \$142.6 billion (his final deficit was \$60 billion). President Reagan's tenure (during which inflation has been substantially tamed as a distorting factor) has seen successive defense-spending increases as follows:

1981	\$178.3 billion
1982	\$213.8 billion
1983	\$239.5 billion
1984	\$258.2 billion

The February 1984 projected budget estimates for the next several years ("the out-years," as they are quaintly referred to in Washington) continue the pattern:

1985	\$305.0 billion
1986	\$349.6 billion
1987	\$379.2 billion
1988	\$411.5 billion
1989	\$446.1 billion

To put all of this in some perspective, by 1983, because of President Reagan's weapons build-up, we were spending more real dollars (that is, dollars compensated for inflation) on peacetime defense than we were in 1968, at the height of the Viet-

nam war, when we had 500,000 troops deployed in the field. By the end of his eight-year term, Reagan is proposing virtually to triple defense spending. Of course, should the president actively pursue his Star Wars initiative, even more colossal spending increases will prove necessary. It doesn't take much sophistication to locate the major cause of the hemorrhaging deficit in these figures.

Which brings one to the question of precisely whose economies these massive defense spending increases (and their presumed counterparts in the Soviet Union) have begun to strain.

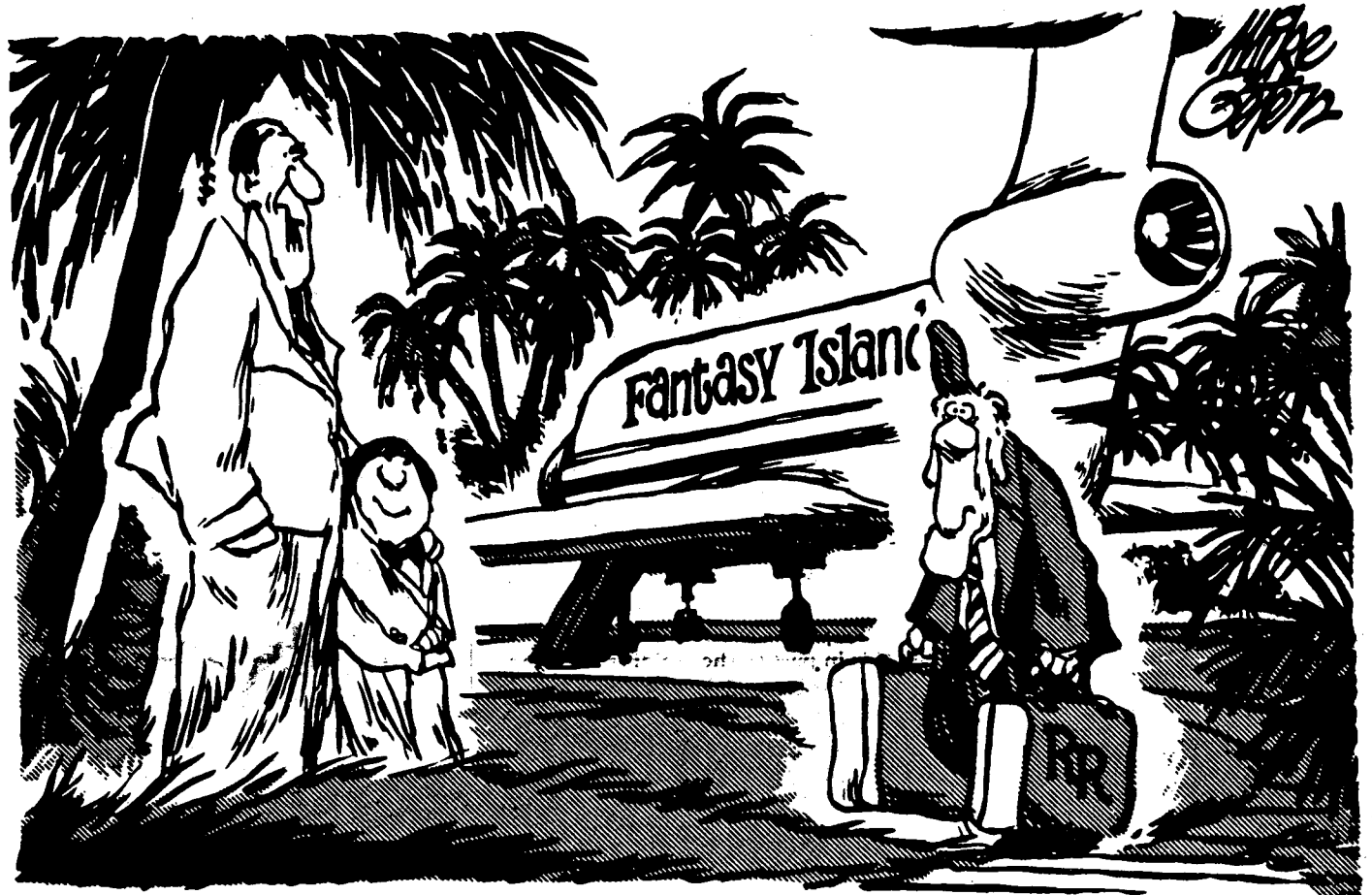
It is always difficult to evaluate economic developments inside the Soviet Union. Without doubt the Soviet economy is strapped, and the recent ratification by the Kremlin's rubber-stamp parliament of a 12 percent increase in defense spending designed to keep pace with our own increases cannot have helped matters. Still, in a report from Moscow for the *New York Times* November 21, Serge Schmemmann pointed out that spending for the strongest possible national defense has long enjoyed broad consensus support among most Soviet

PERSPECTIVES

Is defense spending strangling U.S.?

It is of course easier to procure accurate information and to advance plausible analyses with regard to the effects of increased defense spending on the American side of the ledger, and here it is clear that the defense-spawned deficit is looming as an increasingly foreboding threat. The other day on the *CBS Morning News*, investment banker Felix Rohatyn—hardly a wild-eyed radical—spun out, with a few quick strokes, the sort of scenario "that I'm not saying is going to happen but could happen" if we fail to tame this deficit. He began by

(the government because recessions raise deficits and the banks because this particular recession would empty their coffers of foreign investments) interest rates at that point would skyrocket. This, according to Rohatyn, might lead to "a banking crisis because some large borrowers [wouldn't be able to] meet their obligations." Thus, for example, Mexico and Argentina and Nigeria, countries that can only just barely service the interest on their debts at current levels, might default were those rates to rise still further. No one quite knows what would



HIS FANTASY, TATTOO?... HE WANTS TO CUT TAXES, INCREASE DEFENSES AND BALANCE THE BUDGET ALL AT THE SAME TIME...

citizens (who retain vivid memories of the calamities of World War II) and that, notwithstanding this spending, Soviet leaders have been able to provide modest

Reagan, hoping to weaken the USSR, is straining the U.S.

improvements in various other indices year by year.

"When compared with the past rather than with the West," Schmemmann reported, "the decades since the war have been good for the Soviet Union. Living standards have improved, there are more cars, more shops, better clothing, most people have an apartment of their own, and a growing number have summer homes." It should be noted that Soviet leaders can get away with providing much less by way of consumer improvements from year to year since the relative standard of living of their citizens is so much below that of their counterparts in the West. At any rate, Schmemmann found little to indicate imminent rebellion in the Soviet Union owing to public dissatisfaction with defense spending. (Granted, this is partly because Soviet citizens have little access to accurate information or occasion for political participation.)

pointing out that in the past, economic recoveries were periods when the government was supposed to be running up budget surpluses as hedges against subsequent economic downturns, when deficits might well be expected to return. Remarkably, however, this past two-year recovery has seen deficits running higher than in any previous recession! Of course, this has forced the federal government to borrow money on the open market at rates never previously imagined. One reason this did not result in the federal government's crowding out other potential borrowers (homeowners, businesses, etc.) and thereby sending interest rates through the roof, as many economists a few years back were predicting it would, is that foreign money has been pouring into the U.S. at an absolutely unprecedented rate (more than \$100 billion worth this year alone) because of the exaggerated short-term strength of the American dollar. In effect, foreign investors have been subsidizing our recovery. But this fortuitous conjunction need not last. Should the American economy begin to falter in the months ahead because of a deficit-spawned recession—and there are some indications that this may already be beginning to happen—those Europeans and Arabs and Asians could quickly lose faith in the dollar and simply withdraw their funds from American banks. With the government and banks then all scrambling for the same limited funds

happen to American banks if several of their largest borrowers suddenly defaulted, but it's not a pretty prospect.

Admittedly, Rohatyn's is a sort of "worse-case scenario," but it is firmly grounded in several already developing trends and it does raise the question of whether, under any circumstances, the American economy can any longer sustain further defense spending increases—whether, indeed, defense spending cuts may have already become virtually mandatory. It is not inconceivable that the current arms race could end up bankrupting both the East and the West almost simultaneously. The last time the world careened into a depression, the economic chaos and despair led inexorably toward a global war. Thank God, however, there weren't over 50,000 nuclear weapons stashed away in various arsenals in 1929, as there are today. One can hardly imagine a more perilous and precarious development than a major world economic crisis in the present military context.

This is yet another reason to applaud the upcoming renewal of arms talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union this month in Geneva. One only hopes that the negotiators will be approaching these talks with a sense of urgency worthy of the stakes that, over the past several years, they have managed to raise. ■ Lawrence Weschler is a staff writer on the *New Yorker* and is author of *The Passion of Poland*.



Salvador Witness: The Life and Calling of Jean Donovan
By Ana Carrigan
Simon and Schuster, 317 pp., \$16.95

By Pat Aufderheide

When four American women—three nuns and a lay missionary—were murdered in El Salvador in September 1980, the resulting scandal broke through American public disinterest in the regime's repressive nature. Film-maker Ana Carrigan saw in the incident a chance to heighten awareness of the crisis, and she made a documentary, *Roses in December*, focusing on lay missionary Jean Donovan. The half-hour film, which aired on public TV, traced Donovan's trajectory from an affluent suburban childhood to the discovery of her mutilated body in a shallow grave in El Salvador, and it also

challenged the administration's assumption that missionary work could be isolated from political issues in a civil war.

Now Carrigan has written a book, to get at a question the movie could not explore: why did Donovan give up life in the fast lane of consumer society to work in poverty in the midst of somebody else's crisis? *Salvador Witness*, written in accessible, efficient prose, probes that question in a way that makes Donovan something much less than a saint and something much more than an oddball.

Restlessly ambitious, with a bulldog personality and an ungainly physical manner, Donovan could not tailor her talents to a split-level lifestyle. Her accountant's degree offered her the best of a working woman's lifestyle with executive titles, fast cars and expensive bar tabs. But early success only exhausted her satisfaction with the good

INPRINT

BIOGRAPHY

Spiritual quest to El Salvador

life, and a failed love affair sent her back to friends out of her Catholic background for solace and direction. When she went to El Salvador on a spiritual quest fed by a taste for high risk, she confronted a situation too shocking to abandon. The escalating horror of right repression

also brought her face to face with her own cultural and political assumptions. Comforts she had once thought essential now looked like luxuries, and so did attitudes that dismissed the role of politics in people's lives.

Jean Donovan was known among friends and family for

Legal aid album of victims in El Salvador

her aggressive generosity, her ebullience a brittle shield against insecurity. She was, one reads between Carrigan's lines, loving but not easily loveable. In El Salvador, she found a way to be loved, performing rescue missions that only an American, with special privileges, could get away with. She often acted high-handedly in the many daily emergencies, openly intimidating authorities in her forays into local jails. Her brazenness worked well, until it started weighing too heavily in the balance against the fact that she was blonde, religious, a woman and an American. As conflict escalated, first her close friends and then she and her co-workers became victims of El Salvador's officially sponsored violence.

Along with a perceptive, sympathetic portrayal of Donovan's contentious personality, Carrigan offers a close look at El Salvador's political and social crisis through Donovan's growing understanding of it. Donovan came to idolize Archbishop Oscar Romero, murdered after a mass in March 1980, and both her reactions and quotes from his speeches eloquently make it clear why Romero was such a majestic figure. Her emergency social work exposes how massive the destruction of ordinary social life has been there, and also shows how simple human kindness inevitably has a political meaning. Carrigan also sharply exposes El Salvadoran government hypocrisy in the murders and administration complicity in the hamhanded investigation into these deaths—in themselves tragic but also symptoms of a much wider devastation.

By the end of the book, you may decide that if you had met Jean Donovan, you might not have liked her. But she would have looked disturbingly familiar both in her quest and her actions. She was fighting her way toward an awareness of the link between life here and life there, a link that her death made vividly clear. ■

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FICTION

Faithful to the family

The Rain God: A Desert Tale
By Arturo Islas
Alexandrian Press, 180 pp., \$6.95

By Paul Skenazy

The Rain God is a haunting tale of three generations of the Angel family, Mexican-Americans who live in a small desert town near the Mexican border. From the first page, as Miguel Chico stares at a picture of himself as a child walking hand-in-hand with his grandmother Mama Chona, to the last scene, when he stands alongside relatives at his grandmother's deathbed pleading for release from her firm grip, Miguel feels condemned by his heritage.

He wonders what he owes to those he calls the family "sinners"—those who, like himself, have fought to resolve the fierce, ambivalent love that keeps them faithful to the Angel ideals even as they defy them. As he broods on these spirits from his past, he

begins to realize how his life has been formed by his understanding of the deaths of those around him, the weakness and human need that defined their "sins," the unforgiving morality that helped determine their actions and the surrounding American environment that both encouraged and punished their transgressions.

With this first novel, writer Arturo Islas, a teacher at Stanford, has transformed family legend into a subtle, quiet fiction that challenges the assumptions we too often bring to ethnic literature. The story is unmistakably Mexican-American. The six chapters are organized around moments of personal loss: Miguel Chico's first encounters with death; an aunt's passion and her son's pride that lead to a fatal accident; a gay uncle (father of four) who is beaten senseless for his desires; a cousin devoured by drugs; Mama Chona's death. Islas never confuses fate and social injustice. The characters suffer

more through religious and moral inflexibility than from Anglo persecution and protest in the novel is more plaintive than outraged.

Islas' Mexican-Americans live in a hyphenated identity as citizens of two cultures. Like Maxine Hong Kingston in her Chinese-American tales, Islas introduces us to a territory at once foreign and familiar. He unravels the knotted strands of belief, social experience and cultural myth.

There are racial conflicts, like a nurse's comments about Miguel's "hairy" body as she prepares him for surgery, or the way his father is denied a pro-

Islas' Mexican-Americans live a hyphenated identity.

motion in the police department. But the Angels have prospered and the younger generations have abandoned their accents. The family is splitting apart less from poverty than from plenty, succumbing to the pressure of private desires.

Though much of the book is about death, or reactions to deaths, the novel is never overcome by gloom. On the contrary, it offers a brilliant landscape of color. The characters are vividly imagined, particularly the women. Islas writes beautifully about small details—the way the desert smells after a rain, the feel of mountains at twilight.

Islas' interest is in the curious mixes of comedy and horror that derail our pieties. We learn of that lost promotion, for example, in passing, as part of a story of Miguel's father's infidelities: how he ignores his son's pleas of pain through a mistaken equation of suffering and toughness and so is responsible for Miguel's polio; how faith in the American dream and hopes of promotion cause him to suppress the truth about his brother's violent mutilation; how he eventually seeks advice and support from the son and wife he has betrayed. The intense bloom of a luxuriant garden in summer provides the setting for whispered

threats of the apocalypse.

The prose edges into melodrama once in a while. The opening pages of exposition are confusing, as Islas introduces a number of characters quickly. Miguel Chico, the consciousness through whom we absorb these tales, seems to feel in speeches; he is too patently a narrative convenience. He is permitted too little awareness that much of what he assumes as his inheritance of agony is self-inflicted.

But if Miguel Chico has yet to value the power and strength of the generations that precede, nurture and torture him, Arturo Islas most certainly has. "Who wants to read about Mexicans," one character asks. "We're not glamorous enough. We just live." It is the way these Angels live, the intense compact that holds the family together, that Islas so knowingly conveys. These stories of generations and relations suggest how time and the past can and cannot be absorbed, how little power we often have to choose the character we become, and how curiously blessed we sometimes are to be the beneficiaries of histories of contradiction and even calamity. ■

Paul Skenazy teaches literature at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Cyprus
By Christopher Hitchens
Quartet Books, 192 pp., \$15.95

By Noam Chomsky

In 1964, Lyndon Johnson delivered an important lesson in political science to the Greek ambassador, succinct, accurate and more enlightening than many weighty tomes. Johnson hoped to convince the Greek government to accept the "Acheson plan," designed to partition the independent Republic of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey. The purpose was to remove the threat of Cypriot neutralism (a potential "Cuba of the Mediterranean"), to secure an important U.S.-British intelligence and military base, and to prevent war between two NATO powers.

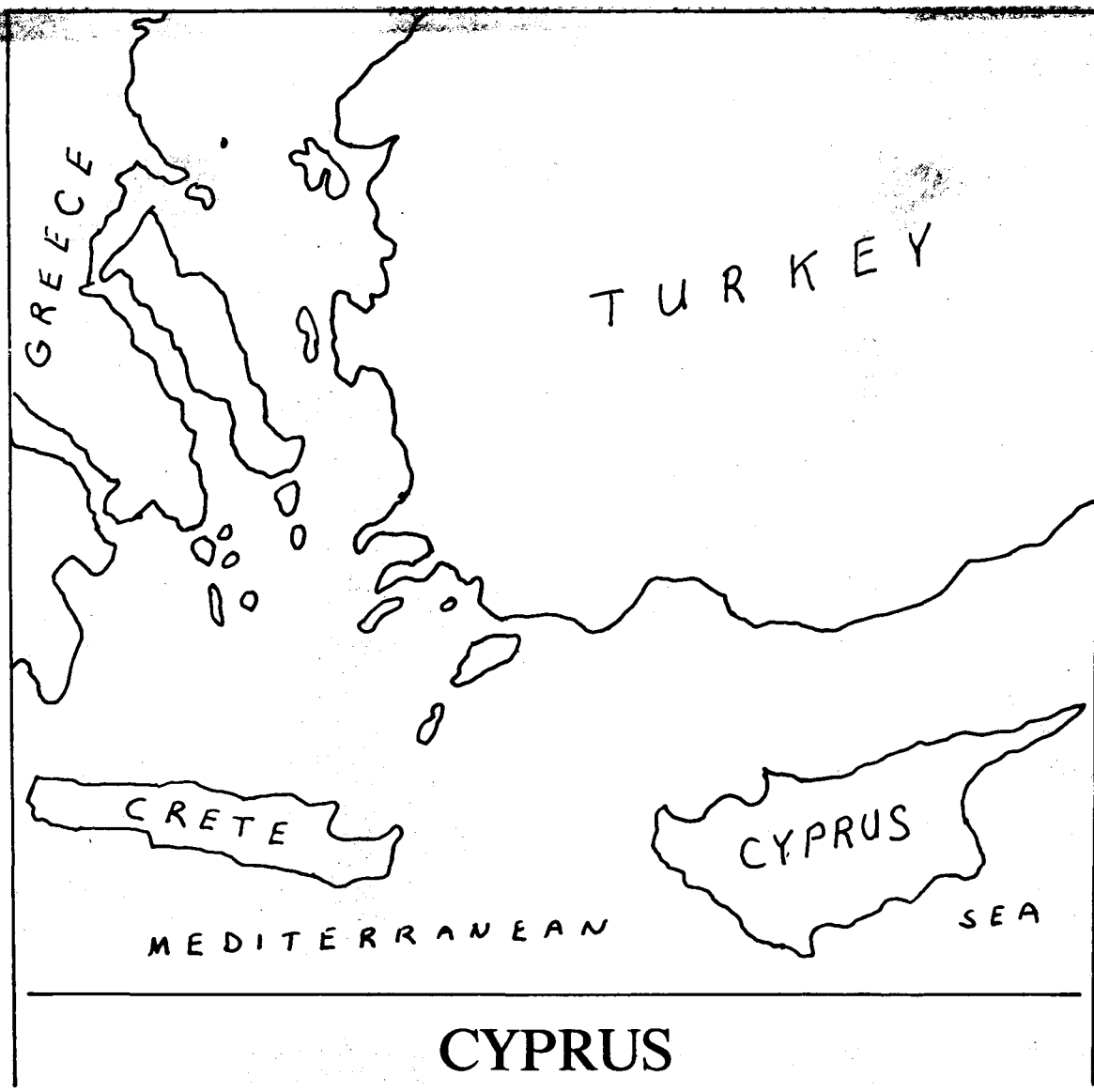
When the Greek ambassador said that "no Greek parliament could accept such a plan," Johnson responded as follows: *Fuck your parliament and your constitution. America is an elephant, Cyprus is a flea. Greece is a flea. If these two fellows continue itching the elephant, they may just get whacked by the elephant's trunk, whacked good.... If your prime minister gives me talk about democracy, parliament and constitution, he, his parliament and his constitution may not last very long.*

For good measure, he added: "Maybe Greece should rethink the value of a parliament which could not take the right decision," where "right" is understood.

Shortly after, the people of Greece were properly whacked. In 1967, a military coup installed the first new fascist government in Europe since Hitler, also the first government headed by a CIA agent (Colonel Papadopoulos was the liaison between the CIA and its Greek counterpart, virtually a subsidiary). The U.S. professed surprise, perhaps correctly. The U.S. was apparently planning a more dignified coup by the king and top generals, not a collection of colonels who seem to have been involved with lower-ranking CIA operatives. But any hesitations were short-lived. The U.S. lent its full support to Greek fascism, which instituted a reign of terror and oppression. A theoretical arms embargo was the usual fraud. The arms flow increased though its composition changed from sophisticated NATO weapons to ones suited for internal repression. As the Council of Europe was condemning Greece for torture over U.S. objections, the National Security Council secretly agreed to resume military aid to Greece and shortly after support for the junta became open.

Cyprus was whacked shortly after when the Greek junta overthrew its government in July 1974 with tacit U.S. support. By then, the junta was no longer run by Papadopoulos, who Christopher Hitchens in his fine new book *Cyprus* describes as "a fascist in the Mussolini mold," but by Ioannides, who was "more like an authentic Nazi" and enjoyed full support from Kissinger. Ten years earlier Ioannides had urged that the solution to the Cyprus problem was "to eliminate [the Turkish Cypriots] to the last one."

To the surprise and consternation of the U.S., the Greek junta was quickly overthrown, restoring Greek democracy and thus leading the U.S. to tilt toward Turkey, which invaded Cyprus with Kissinger's tacit approba-



A potential Cuba of the Mediterranean?

tion, imposing a version of the Acheson Plan with massacres, torture, expulsion of the Greek population and systematic obliteration of their history and culture. But the 99-square mile "Sovereign Base Areas" used by British and U.S. military and intelligence are secure.

The main lines of the story, as *Nation* columnist Christopher Hitchens recounts it, are essentially as follows, eliminating significant nuance and complexity. The largely Greek island of Cyprus received its indepen-

the replacement of Britain by the U.S. as "the main outside arbiter," and to the Acheson Plan, which has been the basis for American policy ever since." The U.S. strongly opposed President Makarios, favoring the Greek terrorist leader General Grivas and establishing secret contacts with him. The alleged reason was concern for the Turkish minority, who at that very time were being brutally attacked by Grivas' forces.

Hitchens argues that despite his rhetoric about union with

that the Athens regime is paying for its keep by serving long-term American design: the removal of Makarios." He notes, however, that this understates the basis for U.S. support for the Greek fascists. Their relations with the Nixon administration were "warm, rotten and corrupt." The U.S. was extending its use of Greece as a military base.

Further insight is provided by a message sent by Nixon expressing the "warmth and confidence" that the U.S. felt for the torturers, explaining that "We in the United States government, particularly in American business, greatly appreciate Greece's attitude toward American investment, and we appreciate the welcome that is given here to American companies and the sense of security that the Government of Greece is imparting to them."

When Ioannides took over and the Greek army overthrew the Makarios government, attempting to kill him but failing (to the dismay of the State Department), the official U.S. reaction was that "there has been no outside intervention." The U.S. had ample foreknowledge and little doubt as to what was happening. Then followed Kissinger's "double tilt": first in favor of Greece for as long as it was a dictatorship, and then away from Greece and Cyprus and toward Turkey when the Athens government returned to democracy."

Hellish paradise.

The effect of the Turkish invasion was devastating for Greek Cypriots. The Turkish population also suffered. On Kissinger's urging, Britain expelled Turks from Greek areas against their will, and Turkey brought in mainland Turks to replace the Greeks who had been murdered

IN THESE TIMES, JAN. 9, 1985, 49 or expelled. The Turkish Cypriots objected strenuously; the leading conservative spokesman wrote that "this paradise island is being turned into hell," referring solely to the Turkish areas. Cyprus became a base for Turkish fascism, and the "victory" enhanced the prestige of the Turkish generals, a factor in their institution of a regime of torture and repression in Turkey in the '80s, also backed by the U.S. A large-scale arms race was initiated "enhancing the risk of an Aegean war" between two NATO powers.

Britain's role was also sordid. A British parliamentary commission concluded that at the time of the 1974 coup, "Britain had a legal right to intervene, she had a moral obligation to intervene, she had the military capacity to intervene," but decided not to "for reasons which the government refuses to give." Lord Caradon observed that "all the evil subsequently flowed from that decision, taken under United States influence, to let it run." A UN peace-keeping mission could easily have succeeded, as the Secretary General of the Commonwealth observed, but the British refused to act without Kissinger's approval, and he had other ideas in mind.

Hitchens notes that the attack against Cyprus by one NATO power and its invasion and partition by another is the only case in which "a member of either post-war bloc succeeded in redrawing the map," creating a "new political entity." The partition was further institutionalized by the Turkish declaration of independence for northern Cyprus in 1983. He argues that these events constituted "perhaps the greatest failure of American foreign policy in post-war Europe." Apart from the unintended restoration of Greek democracy, the conclusion is not at all obvious, if the term "failure" is taken literally.

In fact, the elephant has had more important concerns throughout. During World War II the U.S. was concerned over "subversive social forces" and "the new growth of class consciousness and proletarianism" in Greece, in the words of Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh, referring to the resistance that was holding down 300,000 Nazi troops, rescuing Jews and allied airmen from the Nazis and liberating large areas of Greece from Nazi control.

When British efforts to suppress the resistance failed, the U.S. took over under the Truman doctrine, organizing a brutal counterinsurgency campaign that succeeded in restoring the rule of Nazi collaborators, destroying the unions, undermining democratic politics and benefiting a tiny elite of super-rich and American corporations while also blocking what was perceived as a threat to U.S. domination of the oil-producing regions of the Middle East.

Subsequent U.S. support for Greek fascism, the Cyprus coup, the Turkish invasion and its atrocities and the military take-over in Turkey itself, reflect similar interests. The elephant has little time to waste on the needs of the flea.

There is little in this story to inspire pride, but much that is instructive.

Noam Chomsky is Institute Professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is the author of many books and articles on international affairs.

Christopher Hitchens argues that policy toward Cyprus since the '60s has constituted perhaps the greatest failure of American foreign policy in post-war Europe.

dence in 1960, with a constitution imposed by Britain, Greece and Turkey without Cypriot participation. There had been little intercommunal conflict prior to the '50s, when it was consciously fostered by the British in classic imperial style. This "sordid but clever stratagem" left a bitter legacy, compounded by terrorist elements in both communities (who often directed their terror against internal rivals), by unconscionable policies and by foreign powers.

Hitchens argues that "in the post-1960 period the Cyprus problem can be defined as the exploitation by outside powers of intercommunal differences that were genuine in themselves." The purpose, he adds, "was to suborn the independence of the island."

Disturbances in 1963-64 led to

Greece, Grivas was actually working for partition, in tacit alliance with the Greek fascists, the U.S. and Turkey, in fact everyone but the Cypriots. In 1964, "Greek extremism and Turkish intransigence began, semi-consciously, to act in concert and to be recognized by the U.S. for their ability to do so."

Despite internal terrorism and its foreign support, relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots had improved ("dramatically," according to a leading pro-Turkish historian) by the '70s: "The [1974] crisis did not grow out of tension between [Greeks and Turks], which was slowly waning."

Hitchens endorses the view of British commentator Leslie Finner that "It is impossible to grasp what is happening in Cyprus now [1972] except on the basis

By Pat Aufderheide

"I don't want to make a gangster picture, and I don't want to make a musical," said Francis Coppola while he was directing *The Cotton Club*. "I want to make something nobody's ever seen before."

He almost pulled it off, too. The film's on the road to merging the later Coppola's flamboyant expressionism with his longstanding passion for the drama of social conflict. Less a story movie than a cinema poem, the film delves into American aspirations that money tries to buy and that popular art tries to express.

In an exuberant, lush two hours, *The Cotton Club* transports us to Harlem in the '20s, when Prohibition spawned mogul-bootleggers, when racism created a tan intercaste, when a speculation-driven economy created pockets of fabulous affluence and dreams of opportunity.

It finds the confluence of these forces on stage at The Cotton Club, where the best and the tanest of America's black performing artists displayed their talents to the wealthy and fashionable of white New York, in an operation run by the highest-powered gangsters in town.

We follow several intertwined life stories, played out in three Harlem night clubs: those of the white hustlers, a cornet player-movie star (Richard Gere) and his sometime girlfriend, a gangster's moll (Diane Lane); the black artists, a tap performer (Gregory Hines) and a passing-for-white singer (Lonette McKee); and the gangsters, an amazing crowd of ethnics shoving each other aside

to build a pyramid of illicit power on a black underworld base.

There is no daylight worth talking about in their world, whose burnished gold interiors are suffused with smoky incandescence. And there is no above-ground economy, only the numbers game, bootlegging and show business. Norman Rockwell would not recognize this America, and yet the aspirations of its denizens to win big in the lottery of life are a mainstream tradition in our pursuit of happiness.

The criminal economy and nightclub life, in their respective obscurities, illuminate social realities. In a world corrupt at its base, you can't win for losing. Art can go where guns can't, but it cannot escape the world that makes it; its glitter puts the terms of that world in bright, cheap light.

The Cotton Club is irresistible from the first scenes, in spite of a schematic plot line and acting that suffers from the actors' having to perform in as-yet-unwritten scenes. If there is no electricity between the cornet player and his girlfriend, there's plenty in the showmanship-duets between performers and the production design.

Light may be the boldest actor in this movie, not only electrifying some remarkable performances and choreography, but playing a solo role. And for all the artifice of the production design, there is never a static moment. Coppola stays eye level—just a little too close for comfort—to the often-violent action, using grotesquerie for punctuation.

This is gaudy movie magic indeed. But Coppola, like Polish film master Andrzej Wajda, has

more than Grand Guignol purposes for it. He is interested in the centrality of illusion in people's lives, whether they are gangsters then or moviegoers now. For him, the sultan of our cinema, the fantastic offers special access to reality.

High-risk art.

Coppola is one of the few members of the "movie brat" generation that included George Lucas and Brian De Palma who takes as his core subject matter the social tensions of our time. He has tackled military machismo (*Patton*); paranoia and the forces of surveillance (*The Conversation*); and America's debacle in Vietnam (*Apocalypse Now*). *The Godfather*, in which he confronted the dark side of an opportunity society, is perhaps the one contender we have for a Great

American Movie.

When producer Robert Evans (who also produced *The Godfather*) called Coppola in as a script doctor for a deeply troubled project, Coppola stayed to make the movie his own. You can see why the material attracted him. In the '20s at the Cotton Club, art wasn't imitating life; it was, simply, the most dramatic expression of it. The tawdry opulence of the gangster competed with the spectaculars on stage.

The movie draws its drama from facts. The film's central episodes—including accidental child-murder and the kidnapping of one gangster by another—hark back to real events, as does the ascent of the cornet player from gangster gofer to stardom. The film's conflicts also reflect the racial tensions of the time and the Club's exploitation of them.

Coppola always feels his way toward filmed reality, dragging monstrous production crews in his wake with disregard for the bottom line. On this project, dozens of scripts were written, and a film that started out at \$20 million ended up costing \$47 million.

At one point Gere, in high frustration, simply disappeared for a week. But chaos seems to be the natural center of Coppola's creativity. "You can't be an art-

ist and be safe," he says. He drives accountants crazy, but he commands their respect—as he should. He's speaking their language, in reverse.

The making of the film ended up a testimonial to the currency of the film's themes. (This seems to be a side effect of Coppola's immersion in his subject matter; his *Apocalypse Now* production turned into a logistical nightmare in which no one could find the light at the end of the tunnel.) The racism that divided audience and actors in the '20s still guides entertainment decisions, to judge from Hollywood studio concern that this picture would be too "black," driving away crossover audiences.

Even with Gere as the film's guarantee of white appeal, the dance scenes made marketing directors nervous. The film was financed by shady connections, and the murder of one potential backer mid-movie drew Evans into a police investigation. Just like in the film, entertainment industry glamor rubbed off on real life. The police who came to investigate Evans left his house with autographs.

Art and life are equally intertwined on screen, where Coppola indulges his growing delight in what he calls "hypertheatricality," to make a meta-movie—a movie about our national passion for commercially-fueled romance. In this smoky world, it's easy to get mixed up between image and reality.

The boldest example may be Gere's Dixie Dwyer, who escapes mob patrons in Harlem by going to Hollywood, where he becomes a star playing gangsters in mob-funded productions. He has about as much depth as the two posters of himself as the star of "Mob Boss" between which he stands near the picture's finale. It's also easy for the gangsters to turn into comic caricatures, lisp-ing and croaking like some cross between Brando's *Godfather* and Darth Vader, bungling their crimes like a Three Stooges version of "the family." As much as characters in this movie they're references to the movie image of gangsters.

The layers of illusion multiply as the film goes on. Double exposures float across the screen, realistic sets become surrealistic, shrinking piles of coins and bundles of newspapers resurrect ancient Hollywood clichés. The ending is a whirlwind pastiche of image and reality, of past and present, of movies and real life. On stage, performers turn a dance number into a curtain call,



Adger W. Cowans Orion Pictures

FILM

Coppola's *Cotton Club* weds illusion to reality

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



Adger W. Cowans Orion Pictures

and the train station set merges with real-life Grand Central Station, where Dixie is taking off for California. When the caboose placard lights up like a movie marquee, the film comes full circle.

This cinematic playfulness is more than just kidding around. It is an attempt to dramatize confusions and passions in the world outside the movie theater. Two years ago, on the release of the ill-fated *One from the Heart*—a finer exercise, like *Rumblefish*, in hypertheatrical cinema—Coppola explained to *In These Times*

why he had forsaken naturalism:

"The trouble with neorealism is that that kind of strict adherence to reality is not prepared to deal with the themes of our time. I am reaching out into theatricality in a broader sense, because it tells us more about the world we're going to live in.

"We're staring into a future in which all of our major institutions need to be redesigned. We need to see with more than our eyes. We need to see with our intuition."

Coppola is better at showing

than at telling just what the themes of the coming era are, but *The Cotton Club* is an impressive exercise in intuition. It's Coppola's gamble on theatricality that makes it more than the film Robert Evans had in mind when he touted it as a failsafe entertainment mix of "gangsters, music and pussy." This rediscovery of the Cotton Club, in its very appealingness, is a warning about the meaning of our dreams. Coppola is a pioneer in a special North American brand of magical realism. ■

©Pat Aufderheide



Diana Lane and Richard Gere play uneasy lovers in Coppola's irresistible film.

Goldie's film: Sheik redux

By Pat Aufderheide

In *Protocol*, Goldie Hawn (also the film's executive producer) plays Sunny Davis, who defends the best in grassroots America against a cynical media and a corrupt government. She also becomes America's ambassador to the world, when she takes on the political education of an entire Arab state.

It all happens like this: Sunny Davis is a cocktail waitress at one of Washington, D.C.'s tackier joints. Stopping to gawk on her way home from work at a White House reception, she accidentally saves the Emir of an Arab state from assassination. She instantly becomes a media heroine, and the Emir, smitten by her, orders her up from the State Department, which pledges to pack her off without consulting her.

After endless hijinks involving Sunny's literal interpretation of devious directives, she returns home to expose crooked diplomacy to concerned Congressmen and even claims it's all her fault because she hadn't been a vigilant enough citizen. The public loves it; by movie's end she's been elected to Congress, after marrying the State Department man who turned whistleblower for her. The Emir's holy man comes along to Washington, as her consultant and (yes) babysitter. And so Sunny, that superlatively photogenic voice of the people, ends up a conquering heroine.

This relentlessly populist film has a good time making fun of elitist bureaucrats, but the ultimate blame for the comic confusion lies with sneaky Arabs. They shut off democratic communication by refusing to talk like us, look like us, or do what

we want when we want it. (The State Department needs Sunny because it wants a base in the Emir's country, and has no access except his lust for her.) Sunny, unlike State officials, may believe in grassroots democracy, but she's not really any more interested than they are in going half-way across a cultural bridge in diplomacy.

But then, why should she? There's nothing interesting over there. Arabs are an easy cipher to read in *Protocol*: they're the antithesis of everything that is American. She's blond, frank, charming—one of us. He's dark, dictatorial and sly—one of them.

Protocol's Emir comes from a

long line of dangerously romantic sheiks. Rudolph Valentino, the Italian tango dancer who became the Sheik in 1921, had dozens of rivals, all draped in Bedouin garb, in the 1920s alone.

For Hollywood filmmakers in search of a mass market then, sheiks were an answer to prayer.

The country was being swept by "Americanization" campaigns aimed at homogenizing diverse immigrant cultures, and Hollywood wanted all-American heroes. But it was the spice of temptation that sold tickets. The solution, suggests film scholar Robert Sklar in his *Movie-Made America*, was for foreigners to play temptors. "They could do so many things forbidden to Americans!" Valentino also played Europeans in films, but his big success was in playing the most mysterious foreigner of all.

It may not be accidental that, at a time when jingoistic patriotism is on the rise, the sheik is making a return to the screen.

©Pat Aufderheide

CULTURE SHOCK

Iran's bestsellers

The bestselling author in Iran these days is George Orwell; *1984* and *Homage to Catalonia* are both popular. Not all hot titles are printed. Since books by members of the ex-monarchy are not permitted, the Shah's *Answer to History* is available only in photocopy.

When words just aren't enough...

A video animation house has just developed a way for members of the postliterate generation to show they care enough to send the very best. You can now get greeting card videocassettes for a mere \$15—an extra \$5 if you want to "sign" it.

The upside of the African famine

Advertising reps for U.S.

newspapers and magazines are basking in an upsurge of sales, as a host of nonprofit organizations have placed fundraising ads related to the African famine.

State of seige and the ratings game

Television stations in Chile are cleaning up as a result of the state of seige there. So many people are staying home because of the curfew that audiences for TV entertainment are rising.

How the rich spent Christmas

A London travel agency that offered a \$1,000 Christmas day trip to northern Finland, with a reindeer meat lunch and a ride in a reindeer sleigh included, filled its plane to capacity.

MUSIC

Neobeatniks rattle purists

By Kathleen Gallagher

In the back of the room three shadowed figures stand waiting. They wear shirts with black and white horizontal stripes, black pants, jackets and berets. The two men have goatees. They look at the audience through black sunglasses. The lights come up and a voice announces, "Ladies and gentlemen, the Washington Squares."

Slowly the seeming beatniks begin strumming their instruments and walk up to the stage. "I come for to sing/ There's a meetin' here tonight"...the traditional folk song gradually speeds up until one realizes this band is doing much of what's been done before, although in a very different way.

The Washington Squares are a new wave-folk group from New York's Greenwich Village. The trio's mix of musical styles and peculiar blend of politics combine to create a new musical presence, appealing to a growing and surprisingly disparate audience. Their concerts attract a mix of old folkies, punk rockers and everything in between. Although the band has yet to record an album, it performs regularly in New York, does some touring and is the first folk band to appear on MTV. Their repertoire includes old union songs like Florence Reese's "Which Side Are You On?," folk standards such as "If I Had a Hammer" and "Goodnight, Irene" as well as original material.

"Freedom is a birthright for all women and men/ Every generation has to win it again" go the lyrics of their anthem "New Generation." The Squares, all in their late 20s, feel it is time for their generation to develop and asserts its politics. They blame the nihilism of punk rock for negating the political consciousness that was common to the music of the '60s.

"There's a spiritual crisis in the world right now," says Lauren Agnelli, who sings and plays guitar. "We're concerned with the spiritual well-being of people." The Squares want to help fill the political void they see in today's society. "Just remember there's not that much to go around anymore," Tom Goodkind, who sings and plays bass and banjo, says to the audience. "Keep a clear head. It's gonna get you a lot farther than your parents' charge card."

The group has been together about a year-and-a-half. In that

time they've acquired a solid following on the East Coast.

They rely heavily on folk influences, but, according to Goodkind, "we're not playing follow-the-leader." All three members of the trio played in new wave bands before forming the Squares, and they owe much of their style and energy level to that. In fact, their music is such an unusual synthesis of so many different styles that audiences often don't quite know how to take them.

When the Squares appeared at the Winnipeg Folk Festival last summer, the audience, as well as many of the folk musicians there, were initially hesitant to embrace them as one of their own. Those attracted by the Squares' "look" seem to expect a more rock-oriented performance. During a recent show at Tut's in Chicago, when the Squares announced their next song was an old union song, a man in the audience yelled loudly, "Fuck the unions."

The Squares, accustomed to bewildered hecklers, are a good match for even the worst of them. "Fuck the unions?" Goodkind muttered repeatedly. Suddenly, Bruce Paskow, who sings and plays guitar, looked up from his strings, faced the offender directly and retorted, "What'd'ya get layed off from a beer factory?" There were no cat-calls from the audience by the end of the show.

Onstage, they project humor and intelligence. They exchange ironic quips and witticisms throughout the course of their act. A portion of it is dedicated to satirical renditions of current pop hits and original jingles like "Jesse—oh please/ Why did you say Hymie?" or "James Watt—so what?/ The peace boys are working you're not." For them, humor is an effective way to convey their political beliefs, which they describe as socialist, without coming across as didactic.

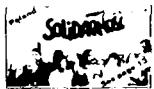
"To be a human being you must be a socialist," says Goodkind. "It's very American to be a socialist." The Squares believe it is necessary to create a socialist society through a democratic movement to the left.

"We approach politics from a new wave spectrum," says Goodkind. "We don't want to conform with old ways of thinking." The Squares feel they have the potential to be a catalyst for new ways of thinking—a new left, not the New Left of the past decade or that of Gary Hart, but one that espouses and enlarges concerns similar to their own. ■



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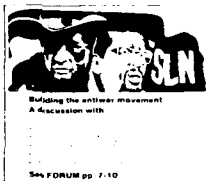


Protests grow against apartheid



Labor-backed S.F. coalition pushes mass April 20 action

Meatpackers mobilize to save plant



More labor news See pp. 4-5

India disaster/Ethiopia famine. See page 16.

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Election

Continued from page 16

anti-Communist platform," said PSN vice-presidential candidate Adolfo Evertz. "They are going to have to compromise on many issues." Among these are the draft, education policies and measures such as rationing.

The chief task of the Assembly, however, is to draft a new constitution, "the focus of Nicaragua's future political development," according to FSLN delegate Federico Lopez. The Assembly will spend the first two of its six years working on the constitution.

For their part, Coordinadora leaders

continue to claim the elections "solved absolutely nothing." The newspaper *La Prensa* ran a small black box with election results under another article about winning a lottery. The figures listed began with "Abstention: 24.6 percent," "Null Votes: 7.6 percent," followed by figures for each of the parties.

"We just went through the motions of having what they called 'elections,'" said Enrique Bolanos Geyer, head of the Council on Private Enterprise (COSEP), "and who really won? Do you think the Nicaraguan people did? They were afraid not to vote. Several friends of mine voted saying they wouldn't get financing from the state-run banks if they didn't." ■

William E. Gasperini works for the magazine Pensamiento Propio in Managua. Jeffrey Gould is a Yale University graduate student living in Chichigalpa.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Cynthia Diaz**.

CHICAGO, IL

January 10

The Good Fight, a documentary about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Spanish Civil War. Benefit for the Chicago CISPE. Sponsored by Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Films and Reception with Studs Terkel and area veterans. Thursday, January 10th, Biograph Theater, 2453 N. Lincoln Ave. Donation \$20.00. Call (312) 277-2720.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 11

D.C./Maryland Local, DSA presents Howard "Stretch" Johnson, principal in *Seeing Red*, and Hulbert James, founder and co-director, Center for Third World Organizing, in Friday Forum on "Race, Class and Radicalism." 8:00 p.m. at Machinist Hall, 1300 Connecticut Ave., NW. Donation \$5.00; low-income, students and unemployed \$1.00. For info (202) 296-7693.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA

January 11

A Conference on Debt, Development, and Dis-

armament: The International Monetary Fund and World Hunger will be held at the First Unitarian Church, 1187 Franklin St. in San Francisco. Dr. Jorge Sol, Fellow at Institute for Policy Studies and member of El Salvador's FDR will speak on the debt crisis. January 11th, 7:30 p.m.

January 12

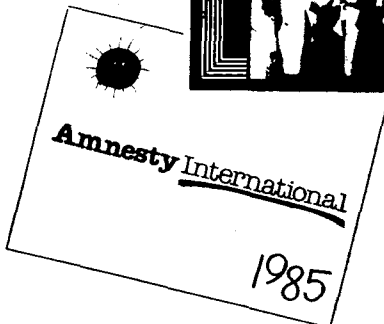
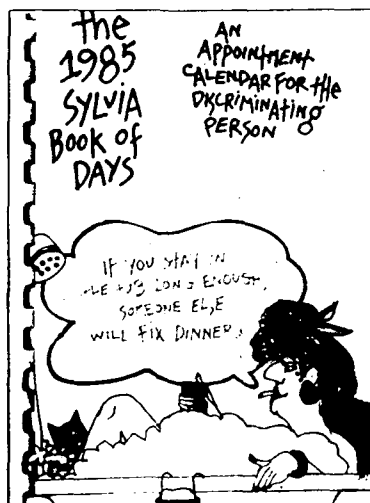
A Conference on Debt, Development, and Disarmament: Workshops on Solving the Debt Crisis, with: John Cavanagh Saul Landau, Douglas Dowd, James O'Connor, John Lind and Charles Gray. First Unitarian Church, 1187 Franklin St., 9 a.m.-5 p.m. For more information: (415) 550-1195.

NEW YORK, NY

February 8-10

"Where do we go from here?" Join Stanley Aronowitz, Harry Britt, Leslie Cagan, Noam Chomsky, William Sloan Coffin, Barbara Ehrenreich, Mark Green, Michael Harrington, Hulbert James and Ruth Messinger for a national conference on directions for the student left. Plenary sessions on coalition politics, "deadly connections" of U.S. foreign policy, and the new politics of the university. Workshops on Central America, Socialist Feminism, Fighting the Campus Right, Economic Democracy, Labor Movement, Rainbow Coalition and more. Join us for a weekend of organizing and strategizing. Columbia University. Sponsored by Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, NY, NY 10003. (212) 260-3270. Registration \$15.

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The Rich

Continued from page 24

Now every fourth year, the Party went before cameras for the presidential election, and when Ronald was 53 years old, they went again unto the media, as was their custom. And they granted for Ronald to speak on the candidate Goldwater's behalf, and Ronald said unto the nation, "You and I have a rendezvous with destiny." And all that heard him were astonished at his smooth delivery.

It was in the third year of the presidency of Lyndon Johnson—when Edmund Brown Sr. was governor of California—that the word of the Party came to Holmes B. Tuttle and he went out into all the counties of California preaching repentance for the sins of government spending and the need for money to elect Ronald.

Then came Ronald to Sacramento to be endowed by Tuttle. And Ronald, after he was endowed, came up straightaway to an electoral victory and lo, the leaders of the Party flocked about him like doves and said, "This is our beloved Ron, in whom we are well pleased." And Ronald increased in certainty and in years, and in the favor of men.

Then was Ronald led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil. And when the tempter came to him, he said, "If thou be Ronald, candidate for president of the United States, command that these hungry people be fed." But he answered, "It is written, Man shall not live by welfare checks, but by every tax cut that proceedeth from the pen of Ronald."

Then the devil took him into a private chamber close unto the halls of Congress and said unto him, "If thou be Ronald, candidate for president of the United States, cease the giving of military aid to repressive dictatorships." But Ronald answered him saying, "It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the godless Communist."

Then the devil took him up onto an exceedingly high mountain and showed him all the nations of the world and all the peoples thereof, and said to him, "The respect and affection of all these will I give to you if only you will support ratification of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty."

Then Ronald said unto him, "Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, 'Thou shalt worship the GOP, thy Party, and it alone you shall serve.'"

Then the devil left him and behold, the Party came and ministered unto him a great victory.

And Ronald came to Washington in the full power of the Party, and as was the custom, he stood before the cameras and addressed the nation.

"America must be reborn," he said. "For except as a recovery be born of tax cuts and budget reductions, a nation cannot enter into the kingdom of Ronald."

"Love your allies. Defeat them that spitefully use you, and the kingdom of Ronald shall be yours."

And from the budget he drove many millions, which shouted as they came out, "You are Ronald, Savior of the GOP!" But he rebuked them and would not allow them to speak, for they knew by the Party's power he smote people and programs besides.

And there came unto Ronald a poor young man asking how he could enter the kingdom, and Ronald said, "Invest all you have in big 100 defense contractors and come and follow me."

And the young man went away sad, for he was exceedingly poor.

"Truly, truly," said Ronald to his cabinet, "it is easier for an actor to find a safe street parking spot downtown for his limo than it is for a poor man to enter the kingdom of Ronald."

And his cabinet was astonished and said, "Then how can a poor man ever enter the kingdom?"

And Ronald said, "For Democrats, this is impossible; but for Ronald, all things are possible. The wind blows where it pleases, but none can tell whence it comes and where it is going, and so it is with the economic policy of Ronald."

There was in that same cabinet a practitioner of the voodoo economic arts named Stockman. And Stockman, having seen Speakes cast out the demon called "bad press" by invoking the geniality of Ronald, sat down to breakfast with Greider of the *Atlantic Monthly* and tried to do the same.

"Ronald I know and Speakes I have heard of, but I do not know you," said Greider. Then the December *Atlantic* with Greider in it leaped on Stockman and overpowered him, leaving him naked and bleeding.

The cabinet, sorely distressed, sought out Ronald and asked how to understand this event.

"Stockman shall stay," he said. And they were all astonished.

"You have heard it said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,'" said Ronald. "But I say unto you, love your enemies within the Party; bless them that draw curses down upon you; and if the nation demands your top EPA administrator, offer it an assistant instead."

And Ronald offered to Congress his tax cut plan, whereby the well-to-do gained many dollars in reductions while the poor lost what little they gained to inflation.

And he said, "To him who has much, much will be given; while him who has little, even that will be taken away."

And Ronald said, "Suffer the little schoolchildren to

come unto me." And he instructed them on school prayer, saying, "Be ye therefore like the hypocrites, who like to say their prayers in public that all men may hear them. For I say unto you, these have their reward."

It being again in the fourth year, Ronald went once more before the cameras, as was the custom of the Party. And to those who had seen their incomes increase as rises a dough that has been leavened with leavening, he said, "When a people believes my words, it does not believe in me only but in the great Nation that raised me up. I have come to this people as a light, that no one who believes my word should suffer from recession. But when you look at me, you see not me alone but the great Nation I represent."

And to those who had stood and watched in astonishment as the national debt increased many times, indeed, many times many, he said, "Which is more difficult to say, the inflation rate shall fall or your debt shall be forgiven you? Yet to prove I have the authority to forgive the national debt, I have already fulfilled the first. When you have but five fishes, it appears difficult to feed the multitudes; yet when the fishes are multiplied it becomes easy. So it shall be with Ronald."

And the nation ministered unto him an exceedingly great victory such as had scarcely before been known, a victory in which all people were united. For it was as it had been said, "In the kingdom of Ronald, there is neither Democrat nor Republican, believer nor atheist, worker nor owner. For all are one in Ronald."

Then Ronald walked out into the streets and a great crowd of evangelicals drew near unto him shouting, "Glory to Ron! Hosanna in the highest! For prayer will again be heard in the schools and we will pick at least two justices on the next Supreme Court."

And then Ronald went up onto a high place and looked out upon the crowds and said:

"Blessed are the poor, for they shall see their federal assistance both cut and taxed, and learn to rely upon God."

"Blessed are the unborn, for they will be given life: no more, no less."

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit a world free of unions and wage minimums."

"Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for recovery's sake, for eventually it shall trickle down."

"Blessed are the Peacemakers, for in confrontation with the Evil Empire, they shall be called the locusts of Armageddon."

"Blessed are those in small, left-dominated Central American nations who are persecuted for the right-wing's sake, for once Congress votes the funds, theirs shall be the kingdom of Ronald."

Carlene B. Hill is an evangelical Christian and writer who is opposed to the equation of the GOP platform with the Gospel.

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Blessed Are The Rich

for they shall prosper
in the kingdom of

By Carlene B. Hill

RONALD

And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Congress that all the nation should be progressively taxed. Now in this same nation were investors, keeping watch over their funds day and night. And lo, a messenger of the GOP came before them and said unto them, "Fear not, for I bring you tidings of great joy that shall be unto all well-to-do people. For unto the Party is born this day in California a Savior—an actor, one-time union activist and Democrat now reborn into the true Party—and his name is called Ronald." And suddenly there was with the messenger a multitude of Party loyalists saying, "Glory to Ron in the highest and in the U.S. peace to men of Right will." *Continued on page 23*



Peter Harean